should make it clear in this House. Haryana is ready to concede Chandigarh and it may go to Punjab. But the Hindi and Punjabi speaking areas, including Fazilka and Abohar should be exchanged. They should not be exchanged now. The time is not now. It is not the suitable time because this again is going to be exploited by various vested interests. The exchange of the Hindi and Punjabi speaking areas between these two States should be deferred to a later period. Chandigarh can go to Punjab provided Haryana gets its own capital and the Central Government gives adequate financial and other things to construct its own capital for the people of Haryana within the territory of that State. *As far as the construction of SYL canal is concerned, it is a national project.* More than Rs. 400 crores have been spent during the last twelves years. Late Shrimati Indira Gandhi laid the foundation stone of this canal in 1981. Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi in the Rajiv-Longowal accord laid a time-frame for the completion of the canal. Madam, in the last session, the hon. Minister for Water Resources while answering my question said that the Haryana farmers have suffered a loss of more than Rs. 100 crores. Actually the loss is of Rs. 500 crores. The people of Haryana want that construction of SYL canal should be done without any delay. Now there is peace and tranquillity in Punjab. There is no problem. We want the Home Minister to make a statement on these two vital issues to satisfy the people of Haryana.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—(Contd.)

उपसभापति : सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय जी, आपका भाषण खत्म नहीं हुआ था, आठ मिनट बाकी हैं, आप शुरू कर सकते हैं ।

श्री राम लखन यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदया, मैं एक मिनट चाहता हूं । बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है ।

उपसभापति : अभी बहुत लेट हो गए हैं, कल कर लीजिएगा । कल भी हाउस है, कल आपकी बात सुन लेंगे ।

18—148RS6/94

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) पीठासीन हुईं]

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदया, कल मैं यह कह रहा था कि हिन्दू राष्ट्र का जो कल्पना है वह इस देश के लिए बहुत ही घातक है और इसलिए जो लोग इस प्रकार के विचार रखते हैं उनको अपने विचार बदलने का पुनः प्रयास करना चाहिए । उनको नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि इस देश में श्री खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खान पैदा हुए, मौलाना आजाद पैदा हुए, रफी अहमद किदवई पैदा हुए, मौलवी लियाकत अली जो इलाहाबाद के थे, पैदा हुए, रसखान और कबीर पैदा हुए । मौलवी लियाकत अली ने 1857 की म्यूटनी में हिस्सा लिया था और उनको अंग्रेजों के जज जस्टिस गोलक थे, उनको उन्होंने निकोबार में सजा के तौर पर भेज दिया था और वहीं उनकी मृत्यु हो गई । इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस प्रकार के विचारों से जो देश के लिए घातक हैं, उनको खत्म करना चाहिए और पुनः विचार करना चाहिए कि इस देश की जो धर्मनिरपेक्षता है इसके चलते हमारे देश की एकता और अखंडता को अक्षुण्ण रखा जा सकता है । राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में चुनाव कानून में परिवर्तन की कोई भी चर्चा नहीं की गई है । सरकार ने इस सदन में भी और बाहर भी इस बात का वायदा किया था कि इस चुनाव कानून में व्यापक परिवर्तन किए जाएंगे । मेरी यह मांग है कि जितने भी उपासना स्थल हैं या धर्म स्थल हैं, कम से कम उनका प्रयोग राजनीतिक कार्यों के लिए प्रतिबंधित करना चाहिए, उनको रोकना चाहिए । इस प्रकार से उपासना केन्द्रों का इस्तेमाल वोट की राजनीति के लिए होता है । इस पर कानून लाकर के सरकार को प्रतिबंध लगाना चाहिए । दूसरे, मेरी मांग यह है कि जो दलबदल कानून—एंटी डिफेक्शन एक्ट है जो 1984 या 1985 में पास हुआ था, इसके बावजूद भी काफी विवाद इसमें पैदा हुए हैं । इस कानून के चलते न्यायपालिका और लेजिस्ले-

बार के बीच में भी विवाद खड़ा हुआ और दलबदल रुका नहीं है। इस पर भी सरकार को विचार करना चाहिए। जजेज के संबंध में संविधान में आर्टिकल 124(4) में जजेज के मिस-कंडक्ट के लिए दोषी पाए जाने के संबंध में व्यवस्था है। मैं यह समझता हूं कि इस प्रक्रिया में भी संशोधन की आवश्यकता है और मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि मेरे पास "जजेज (इंक्वायरी) एक्ट-1968" के अंतर्गत "रिपोर्ट आफ दि इंक्वायरी कमेटी (वौल्यूम-1)" है, जिसमें एक जज के खिलाफ तीन जजेज ने इंक्वायरी की थी। मि. जस्टिस पी. बी. सावंत, सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज और प्रिजाइडिंग आफिसर थे, चीफ जस्टिस मि. पी. डी. देसाई जो बम्बई हाई कोर्ट के थे और मि. जस्टिस ओ. चिनाप्पा थे, इन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट दो वौल्यूम में दी और वह रिपोर्ट सदन के पटल पर भी रखी जा चुकी है। रिपोर्ट का अंतिम पैराग्राफ मैं पढ़ना चाहूंगा :

"Justice Ramaswami's conduct, that is, his several acts of omission and commission, reflected in our findings on charges No. 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12 and 14 taken together, and in our findings on charges No. 1, 2 and 3 severally, discloses wilful and gross misuse of office, purposeful and persistent negligence in the discharge of duties, intentional and habitual extravagance at the cost of the public exchequer, moral turpitude by using public funds for private purposes in diverse ways and reckless disregard of statutory rules and brings disrepute to the high judicial office and dishonour to the institution of judiciary and undermines the faith and confidence which the public reposes in the administration of justice. The acts are of such a nature that his continuance in office will be prejudicial to the administration of justice and to the public interest. The acts, therefore, constitute "misbehaviour" within the meaning of Article 124(4) of the Constitution of India."

मैं इसलिए इस ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि इतना सब होने के बाद भी [illegible] जज बने रहे। अब अगर एक मामूली क्लर्क इस तरह का काम करता तो उसे नौकरी से निकाल दिया जाता। इसलिए मेरा सरकार से आग्रह है कि इस संबंध में संविधान में व्यवस्था है, उसमें संशोधन की आवश्यकता है जिससे इस प्रकार की कोई घटना भविष्य में न घटने पाए।

महोदया, 25 फरवरी को दिल्ली में जो घटना घटी उसको मैं बहुत ही अफसोसनाक और अपमानजनक मानता हूं। लोकतंत्र में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को और सभी राजनीतिक दलों को इस बात का अधिकार है कि वह प्रदर्शन करे और प्रदर्शन के जरिए अपनी असहमति प्रकट करे। सरकार को भी इस बात का अधिकार है कि इस संबंध में वह कुछ कार्यवाही कर सकती है लेकिन कम से कम चार सांसदों को मैंने देखा, डा. जोशी तो सदन में नहीं आ रहे हैं। मैं उनसे उनके बंगले पर मिला लेकिन यहां मैंने श्री टी. एन. चतुर्वेदी, श्री ईश्वर चन्द्र गुप्त और डा. नौनिहाल सिंह की बात को सुना। मुझे ऐसी कोई जानकारी नहीं है कि इस घटना में एक भी पुलिसकर्मी घायल हुआ हो। कम से कम समाचारपत्रों में इस तरह का कोई समाचार नहीं आया।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि 25 फरवरी को सरकार ने जो निरंकुश कार्यवाही की है वह बहुत ही निंदनीय है और उसकी जितनी निंदा की जाए कम है। मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि 25 फरवरी को जो घटना दिल्ली में घटी और जिस प्रकार से वे लोग शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से अपना प्रदर्शन कर रहे थे, उन पर जो कार्यवाही की गई पुलिस की ओर से वह बहुत ही निंदनीय है और मैं इसकी भर्त्सना करना चाहता हूं। डा. लोहिया की एक पुस्तक है—"सिविल नाफरमानी की व्यापकता"। महोदया, आप अच्छी तरह से जानती होंगी। उसमें उन्होंने लिखा है कि—

"जनता के सिविल नाफरमानी के अधिकार को मान्यता देनी चाहिए। सरकार को भी इस संबंध में प्रतिकारियों को गिरफ्तार करने का अधिकार होना चाहिए लेकिन सरकार को प्रतिकारियों

जो पीछे या भारत शासन का कोई अधिकार नहीं है''।

तो मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि 25 फरवरी को जो घटना घटी, इसकी पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए और सरकार को पुनः इस पर विचार करना चाहिए। मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि इस प्रकार की घटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए।

महोदया, आज उत्तर प्रदेश में राष्ट्रपति शासन है। वहां मेरठ में और कानपुर में वहां के भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री ने रैली करने की मांग की थी और उनको इसकी इजाजत नहीं दी गई थी और उन्होंने जनता के सामने अपनी बात रखी थी। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस प्रकार की जो वैचारिक लड़ाई है, वह आप पुलिस के जरिए नहीं लड़ सकते। मैं मानता हूं कि इस देश में जो साम्प्रदायिक शक्तियां हैं उनसे खतरा है। मैं इस बात को भी मानता हूं कि हिन्दुत्व का जो विचार है उससे भी खतरा है या हिन्दू राष्ट्र की जो कल्पना है उससे भी खतरा है लेकिन इससे निपटने के लिए आपको अपने दल के जरिए सड़क पर आना चाहिए और जो राजनीतिक दल सड़क पर जाकर अपनी बात को कहना चाहते हैं उनको अनुमति देनी चाहिए लेकिन रैलियों पर प्रतिबंध लगाकर इस प्रकार के विचारों को आप रोक नहीं सकते।

महोदया, आज चार राज्यों में राष्ट्रपति शासन है—उत्तर प्रदेश, हिमाचल प्रदेश, राजस्थान और मध्य प्रदेश। मैं आपके जरिए सरकार से मांग करना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रपति शासन को बहुत दिनों तक चलाना अच्छा नहीं है। वहां लोकप्रिय सरकार, जनप्रिय सरकार को स्थापित करना चाहिए और इस संबंध में सरकार को फैसला लेना चाहिए और चुनाव आयोग को घोषणा करनी चाहिए। उत्तर प्रदेश में 6 दिसम्बर को राष्ट्रपति शासन हुआ था और उसके एक हफ्ते बाद इन तीनों राज्यों में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया था। इसलिए मेरी मांग है कि इन चारों राज्यों में तुरन्त चुनाव कराने की शीघ्र घोषणा करनी चाहिए।

महोदया, हमारे संविधान में एक अनुच्छेद है 51-ए जिसके अनुसार लोगों के क्या क्या मौलिक कर्तव्य हैं, उनकी व्याख्या की गई है। लेकिन उन मौलिक कर्तव्यों का हम पालन न करें या उनका उल्लंघन करें तो हमारे ऊपर कोई सजा किसी कानून के अंतर्गत नहीं हो सकती। इसलिए मेरा सरकार से आग्रह है कि यह संशोधन शायद 1975 या 1976 में किया गया था 51-ए के संबंध में, फण्डामेन्टल ड्यूटीज के संबंध में कि यदि हम उनका उल्लंघन करते हैं तो उसके लिए सजा मिलनी चाहिए। इसलिए सरकार इस ओर ध्यान दे और आवश्यक हो तो जो भी संशोधन हो उसको रखना चाहिए।

अंत में मैं भारत सरकार को 1962 के लोक सभा के प्रस्ताव की याद कराना चाहता हूं जब चीन का यहां पर आक्रमण हुआ था तो लोक सभा ने सर्व सम्मति से प्रस्ताव पारित किया था कि एक एक इंच भूमि को हम वापस लेंगे। उस प्रस्ताव के संबंध में क्या हो रहा है, मैं चाहूंगा कि प्रधान मंत्री हमें अवगत कराएं।

महोदया, अंतिम बात मैं डंकल प्रस्ताव के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूं। डंकल प्रस्ताव के संबंध में पिछले सत्र के अंतिम दिन कुछ चर्चा हुई थी। कल किसानों ने यहां बड़ी भारी रैली आयोजित की थी। डंकल प्रस्ताव को लेकर जो बहस चल रही है कि डंकल प्रस्ताव इस देश की जो ग्रामीण व्यवस्था है उसके विरोध में है, किसानों के विरुद्ध है और पश्चिमी देशों, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मुद्रा कोष और विश्व बैंक के दबावों में डंकल प्रस्ताव लाया गया है। यदि डंकल प्रस्ताव में इस प्रकार की बातें हैं तो मेरा सरकार से आग्रह है कि उस पर पुनर्विचार करना चाहिए। डंकल प्रस्ताव की शायद इस सदन में चर्चा होगी लेकिन कल जो किसानों की रैली हुई उस को देखते हुए सरकार को डंकल प्रस्तावों पर पुनर्विचार करना चाहिए और यदि ये प्रस्ताव वास्तविक रूप में किसान विरोधी हैं, ग्रामीण विरोधी हैं तो सरकार को अपनी असहमति व्यक्त करनी चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण के प्रति जो धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव है उसका विरोध करता हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल . . .

श्री ईश दत्त यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : आपका व्यवस्था का प्रश्न क्या है, बताइए . . .

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : माननीया, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव पर महत्वपूर्ण चर्चा सदन में चल रही है । हम राष्ट्रपति के प्रति कृतज्ञता प्रकट करना चाहते हैं । लेकिन मुझे खेद है कि कैबिनेट स्तर का एक भी मंत्री यहां पर उपस्थित नहीं है । इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूं कि यहां सभी राज्य मंत्रियों को मिलाकर भी एक कैबिनेट मंत्री नहीं हो पाएगा, ऐसी मेरी मान्यता है । इसलिए आप का निर्देश हो जाए कि कोई कैबिनेट मंत्री सदन में उपस्थित हो जाए ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : यह बात कल भी बी. ए. सी. की मीटिंग में कही थी । मैं संसदीय कार्य मंत्री से कहना चाहूंगी कि कम से कम इस अभिभाषण के ऊपर चल रही चर्चा को जरूर गंभीरता से लें और जो भी सीनियर डयूटी पर कैबिनेट मंत्री हैं उनको यह कहें कि पूरी चर्चा के दौरान कोई भी एक कैबिनेट मंत्री जरूर उपस्थित रहें । अभी बैठक डेढ़ बजे भोजनावकाश के लिए स्थगित की जाएगी लेकिन ढाई बजे जब इस पर चर्चा प्रारम्भ होगी तो निश्चित तौर पर कोई कैबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री यहां पर उपस्थित होना चाहिए, यह वाजिब आपका सवाल है, मैंने उसी तरह निर्देश दिया है । श्री विट्ठलभाई पटेल ।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : अभी 6 मिनट बाकी है । कई बार इस तरह की व्यवस्था दी जा चुकी है । . . . (**व्यवधान**)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : अभी 6 मिनट में बोल लें, उसके बाद मैंने कहा । . . . (**व्यवधान**)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : 6 मिनट बाद सदन स्थगित हो ही जाएगा . . . (**व्यवधान**)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : नहीं, नहीं । 6 मिनट वह बोल लें । मैंने . . . (**व्यवधान**)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS WITH ADDITIONAL CHARGE OF THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI MARGRET ALVA) : Is it the hon. Member's plea that none of us can even take notes on behalf of the senior Ministers ? Are you trying to say that ?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA : Mrs. Alva should note that it is a question of Parliamentary propriety. That is why this issue was raised.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : इसमें उलझने का कोई सवाल नहीं है । जो आपत्ति उठाई गई है, वह आपत्ति वाजिब है, उसको वाजिब ठहराते हुए मैंने निर्देश दिया है । तो आप यह 6 मिनट की बात न करें, विट्ठल भाई एम. पटेल शुरू करें । सदन की बैठक स्थगित होगी उसके बाद कैबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री मौजूद रहें और पूरी चर्चा के दौरान मौजूद रहें, यह मैं निर्देश देती हूं । श्री पटेल ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल (गुजरात): महोदया, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया गया है उसका समर्थन करने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूं । राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में जो मुद्दा उन्होंने पहले उठाया वह पहले कभी नहीं उठा था । राम जन्म भूमि और बाबरी मस्जिद के बारे में शुरू में उन्होंने उठाया । कौमी दंगे, धार्मिक कट्टरता आदि के बारे में शुरू में राष्ट्रपति जी को बोलना पड़ा और खेद व्यक्त करना पड़ा। देशवासियों को कहना पड़ा कि कृपा करके इससे दूर रहें और हम संसद सदस्यों को भी सचेत किया गया कि इनको नाकामयाब बनाइए ।

25 फरवरी को रैली की गई । उसमें पुलिस ने कुछ ज्यादती भी की होगी लेकिन उसके लिए बहुत शोर मचाया । यहां तक कि डाक्टरों को भी बंद कराया गया जैसे बहुत जबर्दस्त पुलिस ने जुल्म कर दिया । जिस को शासन लेना है वे थोड़ा भी सहन करने के

लिए तैयार नहीं हैं । थोड़ी भी कुर्बानी नहीं देना चाहते । हम लोगों ने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी तो आपको मालूम है अंग्रेज हमारे ऊपर क्या जुल्म करते थे । हम जानते हैं । तब हम तुम्हारे जैसी बात नहीं करते थे । ऐसी बात नहीं करते थे कि हमारे ऊपर जुल्म कर दिया ।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : डूब तक लूटी गई थी ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : झंडा लहराने के लिए सामने से गोली खानी पड़ती थी लेकिन आप तो कुछ होते ही आह करने लगते हैं। अगर इतने कमजोर हैं तो आंदोलन करना छोड़ दीजिए। शासन का मोह छोड़ दीजिए। यह आपको शोभा नहीं देता । लड़ाई ठीक तरह से लड़िए, ईमानदारी से लड़िए । लड़ाई करने का आपको अधिकार है, शासन करने का आपको अधिकार है पर रास्ता भी तो ईमानदार होना चाहिए । यह रास्ता जो आपने अपनाया है यह लोगों को गुमराह करता है । जो नौजवान पीढ़ी है सके कानों में आप जहर भरते हैं । कई *बातें जब आप पब्लिक मीटिंग करते हैं उसमें कहते हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : पहले भी कई बार कहा जा चुका है कि * शब्द असंसदीय है । कोई दूसरा शब्द प्रयोग में ला सकते हैं । असत्य शब्द कह सकते हैं ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : पब्लिक मीटिंग में बहुत सी असत्य बातें करते हैं ।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : असत्य और *एक ही है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : लेकिन शब्दों की शालीनता का अंतर है ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : नई जनरेशन को जब ये असत्य बात कहते हैं तो वे कन्फर्म करने के लिए कहां जाएं । एक नौजवानों की मीटिंग में मुझे बुलाया गया कुछ दिन पहले । उन्होंने एक सवाल किया कि क्या यह बात सही है कि हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलमान चार औरतें रखता है । यह सवाल भारतीय जनता पार्टी वालों ने किया । मैंने कहा यह* है। सब मुसलमान चार औरतें नहीं करता । कभी होगा तो दस हजार में एक होगा । यह सब* बोलते हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : फिर आपने उसी शब्द का प्रयोग किया ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : वह पब्लिक मीटिंग में कहां उन्होंने ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : पर इसको तो आप सदन में कह रहे हैं । पर्यायवाची शब्द का इस्तेमाल कीजिए ।

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : महोदया, कई बार यह* बोलेंगे तो यह सत्य हो जाएगा ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : जैसे इनके यहां होता है। महोदया, दूसरा सवाल पूछते हैं कि जब वह पाकिस्तानी हैं तो उनको यहां पर रहने का क्या अधिकार है । यह भी पब्लिक मीटिंग में पूछते हैं । यह बात नहीं कहते कि इस देश के मुसलमानों को इस देश के हिन्दुओं पर विश्वास था कि वह भाई-भाई के तरह से रखेंगे इसलिए वे पाकिस्तान नहीं गए । वे ताना सुनने के लिए इधर नहीं रहे। उनको हम लोगों पर भरोसा था । वह भरोसा हम को खत्म नहीं करना चाहिए । कभी-कभी ये सरदार पटेल का नाम लेते हैं । अभी कुछ दिनों से लेना शुरू किया है। जैसे कि सरदार पटेल भाजपा वालों का था । सरदार पटेल तो बिल्कुल खिलाफ थे । सरदार पटेल जब जून महीने में बम्बई गए गए थे तो एक सोशल वर्कर ने उनसे पूछा कि दो महीने बाद यह देश आजाद हो रहा है . . . ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : अब सदन की बैठक ढाई बजे तक स्थगित की जाती है ।

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty minutes past one of the clock.

*Not recorded

*Not recorded.

The House reassembled at thirty-nine minutes past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) in the Chair.

Motion of Thanks on the President's Address—Contd.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल, अपनी बात जारी रखें ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं कह रहा था कि बी. जे. पी. और उनके साथी दल सरदार पटेल से ज्यादा प्यार दिखाने लगे हैं जैसे कि सरदार पटेल उनके विचारों के रहे हों । अब ये इस प्रकार का एक झूठा भ्रम फैला रहे हैं कि सरदार पटेल आपके खिलाफ थे । सरदार पटेल हमेशा ही कट्टरवाद के खिलाफ रहे । वे बिल्कुल सेकुलर व्यक्ति थे । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : उनको बोलने दीजिए, बीच में व्यवधान न डालें ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : उनसे जब पूछा गया कि क्या आप भारत को एक हिन्दू राष्ट्र बनाएंगे तो उन्होंने कहा कि कभी नहीं । भारत एक सेकुलर राष्ट्र बनेगा और सेकुलर राष्ट्र रहेगा । उनका मतभेद केवल एक बात पर था और वह पाकिस्तान को 55 करोड़ रुपए देने के बारे में था । उन्होंने यह कहा था कि यह हमने देना जरूर है । पाकिस्तान को यह देना हमने कबूल किया है, देंगे लेकिन जब तक कश्मीर से वह नहीं हटता तब तक पैसा न दें । अगर उसे यह पैसा दे देंगे तो वह उसी पैसे से हमारी आर्मी के साथ लड़ेगा इसके सिवाय उनका कोई और मतभेद नहीं था । वह तो एक नेशनल लीडर थे, राष्ट्रवादी नेता थे । इसलिए आप यह बात मत कहिए कि जैसे सरदार पटेल आपके हो गए थे । अगर आपके होते तो वह आप लोगों को बन्द क्यों करते ? आपके सभी लीडर्ज को बन्द कर दिया था । स्वामी प्रसाद मुखर्जी तक को बन्द कर दिया था । अगर आपके होते तो उनको बन्द नहीं करते । इसलिए यह सोचिए कि सरदार पटेल कभी आपके साथ नहीं थे । इस भ्रम को फैलाने की कोशिश आप मत कीजिए ।

धर्म का आपने क्या किया ? आप धर्म को समझते ही नहीं हैं । आप तो धर्म के खिलाफ काम कर रहे हैं । आप और फंडामेंटलिस्ट मुसलमान दोनों धर्म के खिलाफ काम कर रहे हैं । बच्चों को सिखाते थे कि अगर कुछ खराब हुआ तो भगवान आ कर चमत्कार दिखाएगा । मुसलमान यह कहते थे कि अल्लाह आ कर चमत्कार दिखाएगा । इतने मन्दिर टूटे, मस्जिद टूटी तो न भगवान आया न कोई आया । अगर ऐसी हालत रही तो नयी पीढ़ी की आस्था ही धर्म से चली जाएगी । इसलिए आप ऐसा काम मत करिए जिससे उनकी धर्म से आस्था ही टूट जाए । अहमदाबाद में आपके आडवाणी जी को बड़ा कटु अनुभव हुआ था । वह नारायणपुरा एरिया में एक पब्लिक मीटिंग एड्रेस कर रहे थे । जब तक मुसलमानों के खिलाफ बोलते रहे, कांग्रेस के खिलाफ बोलते रहे, लोग आराम से सुनते रहे लेकिन जब वह मुसलमानों से अपील करने लगे कि मैं तुम्हारे खिलाफ नहीं हूं, भारतीय जनता पार्टी तुम्हारे खिलाफ नहीं है तो आपके ही एक वर्कर ने ही खड़े हो कर विरोध किया जिससे आडवाणी जी को रुकना पड़ा और अपने प्रवचन का विषय बदलना पड़ा । तो यह जो जूनून आप फैला रहे हैं, यह कभी आपको ही काटेगा, यह जरूर आपको ही काटेगा । इतना आप समझ लीजिए । जो अयोध्या में हुआ आपने यह कह दिया कि हमारे कब्जे में नहीं रहा, हमने खूब रोकने की कोशिश की । यही हालत होने वाली है । आपके संत समागम, विश्व हिन्दू परिषद वाले जो बातें कह रहे हैं अगर यह आप अमल में लाने को रखेंगे तो आपका कुछ नहीं रहेगा । वह तो अब समझते हैं कि साथ रूप ही शासन करने के काबिल हैं । वह यह सोचते हैं कि इस देश में जाति प्रथा हम वापिस लाएंगे । अगर वह यह सब करेंगे तो फिर आपको क्यों रखेंगे वह खुद नहीं राज

करेंगे ? क्यों आपको उधर बैठने देंगे, खुद वहां बैठ जाएंगे । इतना जहर आपने फैला दिया है । मैं कहता हूं कि आप जरा शान्ति से सोचिए । यह मत सोचिए कि मैं कांग्रेस वाला यह बात कह रहा हूं, मैं तो इंडीपेंडेंटली बोल रहा हूं । मैं वह बोल रहा हूं जो मुझे आगे दिखाई दे रहा है। आपके कब्जे से बात चली जाएगी । इसलिए इस पर आप रोक लगाओ । वाजपेयी जी कहते हैं, शुरू में जो कहते थे ठीक कहते थे कि रोकना चाहिए । उन्होंने आपकी पार्टी वालों को यह कहा था लेकिन आपने तो उनको भगा दिया । उनके लिए ऐसा लीडर नहीं चलेगा । क्या आप कट्टरवादी लीडर से इस देश में शासन करेंगे ? यह कभी नहीं होगा, इतना आप समझ लीजिए । लोकसभा में 275 सीटें इस बेस पर आपको कभी नहीं मिलेंगी ।

If you want to become alternative to the Congress, you must have the courage to take unpopular decisions in the interest of the nation. The leaders and the parties which have no courage to take unpopular decisions in the interest of the nation cannot be alternative to the Congress.

यह आप समझ लीजिए । इसलिए मैंने सही मायने में शुरू में कह दिया कि अगर आप कब्जा करना चाहते तो इस पर ठोस विचार करिए वरन् आपके लिए यह गद्दी हमेशा के लिए दूर रहेगी । मेरी विनति है आप राम का नाम लेते हो लेकिन उन्होंने जो कहा है उस पर तो अमल करो । तुलसीदास जी ने कहा है :—

□□ रघुकुल रीति सदा चलि आई ।

□□ प्राण जाई पर बचन न जाई ।।

आप तो बात बात में बचन तोड़ते हैं । सुप्रीम कोर्ट में कहा, वह *पार्लियामेन्ट में कहा वह भी * ।

राष्ट्रीय एकता समिति को कहा, वह भी*. प्रधान मंत्री को कहा वह भी *

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : आप फिर* शब्द का इस्तेमाल कर रहे हैं ।

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

मैंने आपको कहा कि* शब्द नहीं कहकर आप असत्य कहिए . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : वचन भंग ही हुआ. . . (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : बीच में व्यवधान न डालें ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : हर बार आप वचन भंगी रहे । राम ने वचन के लिए बनवास लिया । आप एक मामूली वचन नहीं निभा पाए । एक छोटी सी मस्जिद नहीं बचा पाए और बोलते हैं कि हम हिंदुस्तान का शासन करेंगे . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : बचाना तो आपके हाथ में था ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : शासन उनका था हमारा नहीं था मालवीय जी ।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : लाल किले में प्रधान मंत्री ने क्या कहा था ?

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : शासन हमारा होता तो 25 को जो हुआ वह हम नहीं होने देते . . .

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra) : Mr. Patel, will you yield for a minute ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : जगेश जी उन्हें बोलने दीजिए । आप क्या कहना चाहते हैं ?

श्री जगेश देसाई : आडवाणी जी वहां पर थे, जब वहां कम्यूनल रायट हुआ था . . . (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : आप किस पर बोल रहे हैं । कोई प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर है आपका या क्या है, क्या स्टेटमेन्ट कर रहे हैं । अगर आपको कुछ कहना है तो आप लिखकर चिट भेज दीजिए ।

श्री जगेश देसाई : वही बात कहना चाहता हूं कि वे लोग जो वचन देते थे वे निभाने वाले नहीं हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : वह तो बोल ही रहे हैं । आपको समय

मिलेगा तो बोलिएगा । आप किस पर बोल रहे हैं जगेश जी । कोई नियम भी है ।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI : Madam, he has yielded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : He has yielded, but on what are you speaking ? Are you raising a point of order ?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI : During the 1948 riots, Panditji went there. In this case, Advaniji was there. He should have said 'If you want to demolish it, I am going there and you demolish it on my body'. He should have done that. Did he do it ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज) : ठीक है आप बैठिए । आप यह सलाह उनको लिखकर देते वे बोल देते । ऐसे बीच में बिना किसी नियम उपनियम के बोलेंगे आप तो बहस चलेगी कैसे ?

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : महोदया, एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं । मुझे आपकी नीयत पर शक है । आपमें कुछ बहुत अच्छे लोग हैं । आप बहुत जेन्टलमेन हैं । मैं नहीं कहता हूं कि आप बदमाश लोग हैं, अच्छे लोग हैं । लेकिन अभी जो गुजरात में हुआ और चर्चा का सवाल अभी असेम्बली में जो आया उससे मुझे शंका लगने लगी है । आपके एक सौराष्ट्र के लीडर ने अहमदाबाद के एक लीडर को कुछ बोरी गेहूं भेजा ट्रक में । उनकी 7 बोरियों में से बम निकले । आपके लीडर की चिट्ठी भी दूसरे बी. जे. पी. के लीडर को थी कि आपको यह बोरी भेज रहा हूं । तीन दिन देर इसलिए हुई कि यहां ज्यादा सिक्योरिटी थी । फिर जब पुलिस ने पकड़ा तो डाइवर्स रीजन पर पकड़े गये । लेकिन जो भेजने वाले आपके मंडल के प्रेजीडेंट थे वे अंडरग्राउण्ड चले गए। उन्होंने अरेस्ट से पहले कोर्ट से जमानत लेने की अर्जी दी . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : आप कहानी मत सुनाइए ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : सुनिए, मैं हकीकत बोलता हूं । उस अर्जी को अदालत ने फेंक दिया कि बम मिले हैं, आपकी चिट्ठी मिली है और गेहूं की बोरी में बम डालकर भेजा है इसलिए आपको एडवांस जमानत नहीं मिल सकती । नहीं मिली उसको तो अंडरग्राउंड चले गए । अभी पकड़े नहीं गए हैं । पुलिस ढूंढ़ रही है उनको । तो उन्होंने हाईकोर्ट में रिट की है कि हमको एडवांस जमानत दीजिए । अब हाईकोर्ट जो फैसला करना होगा करेगा उनका । लेकिन ये बम 25 की रैली के तीन दिन पहले पकड़े गए । तो मेरे दिल में शक हो गया कि अहमदाबाद में तूफान करने के लिए जरूर कुछ बम मंगवाए गए होंगे और 25 फरवरी को ये कुछ न कुछ कर बैठते । लेकिन सच बात यह है कि गरीब लोगों को निर्दोष लोगों को नुकसान होता है । ये जो मरते हैं निर्दोष मरते हैं हम नहीं मरते . . . (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : निर्दोष ही मरते हैं, आप नहीं मरते । आप ठीक कह रहे हैं ।

श्री विट्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : इसलिए उनको बचाने के लिए राम ने पुलिस को इंसपिरेशन दिया कि जाओ राम तुम पकड़ो इनको। तो राम के इंसपिरेशन से उन्होंने बम पकड़ा बी. जे. पी. का । नहीं तो आपको बम लाने की क्या जरूरत थी और गेहूं की बोरी में डालने की क्या जरूरत थी । इससे मुझे आपकी नीयत ठीक नहीं लगती ।

धर्म वाले हैं, कई धर्म वाले हैं । स्वामी विवेकानंद थे । इस बार हम उनकी शताब्दी मना रहे हैं । आज से सौ साल पहले शिकागो में इन्टरनेशनल रिलीजियस कान्फ्रेंस मिली थी, उसके सौ साल बाद इस साल भी मिलने वाली है । विवेकानंद ने कभी नहीं कहा था कि दूसरे धर्म का अनादर करो । दूसरे धर्म मानने वाले को खत्म करो । वह तो सभी धर्मों को मानने की बात कहते थे । इसीलिए स्वामी विवेकानन्द को सब लोग याद करते हैं । उन्होंने कहा था कि जो दूसरे धर्म वाले पर हमला करता है, उसके खिलाफ काम करता है, वह कायर है, धार्मिक पुरुष नहीं है, वह अधर्मी है और आप वही

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

काम कर रहे हो। जो स्वामी विवेकानन्द जी ने कहा था, उसके खिलाफ काम कर रहे हो।

आज आपको शासन ही चाहिए ना, और तो कुछ नहीं चाहिए। यह सब तमाशा शासन के लिए कर रहे हो। दुनिया भर में दो-तीन पार्टीज होती हैं, इकनामिक पालिसी पर होती हैं। आपको इकनामिक पालिसी पर भरोसा नहीं है। यह धर्म के नाम से चलाना चाहते हो और साधु-संतों को आगे लगा देते हो। यह तो कायर का काम है। साधु-संतों को आगे लगा कर दिल्ली की गद्दी पर कब्जा करने वाला काम—इंग्लैंड में एक लेबर पार्टी और एक कंजर्वेटिव, अमरीका में एक डेमोक्रेटिक, रिपब्लिकन—कभी वह हारते हैं, कभी वह आते हैं।

तो इसलिए ऐसा कुछ सोचिए कि जिससे सही माने में आप ईमानदारी से शासन में आ सकें।

दूसरा एक बड़ा अपवित्र काम आप यह कर रहे हो कि पुलिस दल को भी अपने कलर से बड़ा रंग रहे हो। पुलिस को भी आप अपनी तरफ ले आना चाहते हो। यह भी इतना खतरनाक काम है, कल यही बात आपके सामने आएगी। हमारे यहां तो आपके लोगों ने पुलिस में मीटिंग भी किया, पुलिस को हिन्दू बनाने की कोशिश की। अपने चार राज्यों में तो आपने ज्यादा कोशिश की है पुलिस को हिंदू बनाने में, अब आप दूसरे राज्यों में भी कोशिश कर रहे हो।

पर यह तलवार एक तरफ की नहीं होती है। आज हमारे सामने यह तलवार आएगी, कल तुम्हारे सामने भी आएगी और इसकी वजह से हम कहते हैं आर्म्ड फोर्सेज को साथ उसको हिंदू बनाने की कोशिश मत करो। आप जितने ही हिंदू हैं ना, आप जैसे हिंदू हैं, उतना ही रहो तो अच्छा है इस देश में, क्योंकि आज जितने हिंदू हो, हम अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। इसलिए पुलिस दल से अलग रहो। यह आपके लिए अच्छा है। इससे आपको कोई फायदा नहीं होगा। इससे ज्यादा गोली चलेगी और अगर आपके तीन मरेंगे, हमारे दस मरेंगे। लेकिन पुलिस की इसकी आदत हो जाएगी। तो यह अपवित्र काम मत करो।

लास्ट में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि राष्ट्रपतिजी ने कुछ प्राइसेज के बारे में भी कहा है और आप देख रहे हैं कि बजट के बाद—अभी बजट को तो चार ही दिन हुए, कई चीजों के भाव गिरने लगे हैं और काफी गिरने लगे हैं। तो विरोधी दल का जो संदेह था कि बजट में जो रियायतें दी गई हैं, वह कंज्यूमर को नहीं पहुंचेगी, वह बात गलत है, वह पहुंचने लगी है और पहुंचेगी। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने जो कहा था, वह सच पड़ रहा है और राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो कहा कि प्राइसेज धीरे-धीरे घट रही हैं, तो उनकी यह बात बहुत सही है।

तो आप जो कुछ कर रहे हो, वह सोच-समझ कर करिए। यह जहर कभी आपको भी खा जाएगा आप शिवजी नहीं हैं, वह तो इसे पी गए थे। उनको कुछ नहीं हुआ क्योंकि वह शिवजी थे, लेकिन आपको तो यह जहर हज्म नहीं होगा।

इसलिए आप इस जहर को फैलाना बंद कीजिए, तो कृपा होगी। धन्यवाद।

☐SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam Vice-Chairman, I rise before this august House to place my views on the President's Address of the 22nd of February.

Madam, the Address begins with a sorry note referring to the Black Sunday, that is, the 6th of December, 1992. Therein the President has said, and I quote:

> "The basic premise of secularism and the rule of law has been threatened."

It follows that he is currying the co-operation of all the political parties, intellectuals and all others to see that secularism is saved and that fundamentalism is put an end to. But, it is regrettable to note that he has not pinpointed as to who is responsible for that even after all these things that have happened as an aftermath of the 6th December occurrence. I am sorry to note that the President's Address is keeping quiet for the reasons best known to the President. He has not pinpointed

who is responsible for the calamity that has taken place. That is my first point.

I wish to submit in this reference that a White Paper has been issued to the Press. I would like to submit that various documents have been furnished in the White Paper. As I have already submitted this occurrence had taken place on 6th December, but preceding that what happened is contained in this booklet. I refer to the Notification dated 10th December at page 114 just to point out that the Government was aware of the volcanic situation that was going to happen in connection with the Ayodhya issue. I quote :

> "Whereas Shri Vishnu Hari Dalmia, President of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad in a meeting held in Delhi on 8th November, 1992—mark the date 8th November, 1992—declared that Ram Janmabhoomi temple will be constructed in the same way it was demolished by Babar and Kar Sevaks were pressurising the leadership that they should be called not to construct the Ram Janmabhoomi temple, but to demolish the Babri Masjid."

So, even by 8th November, 1992 very explicitly it had come to the notice of the Government that this particular individual, whom I have mentioned—I do not want to mention him again—had very candidly put it that as Babar had demolished, they were also going to demolish the Mosque. So, it was within the cognizance and knowledge of the Government. They cannot say they were ignorant. Second, I quote :

> "Shri Ashok Shinghal, General Secretary of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, in a public meeting in Vilaspur on 14th November, 1992 stated that Muslims should be taught the language of force in case they fail to understand the language of reasoning."

This is another instance of adding insult to injury and this shows how they were very virulent and how they were very adament in saying what they had determined would go through. And this is dated 14th November, 1992. The occurrence is of 6th December. So, this was also within the cognizance of the Government.

I again quote :

> "Whereas Shrimati Vijya Raje Scindia, a Member of the Governing Council of Vishwa Hindu Parishad in a press conference in Patna on 23rd November, 1992 stated that Kar Seva would be carried out with full determination defying all restriction; if required, including even the court orders."

Madam, I am very sorry that a Parliament Member and a person, who has got the responsibility of upholding the constitutional veracities and other things was speaking this. She also averred that the construction of Ram Temple was a matter of faith and that it could not be confined to the jurisdiction of the judiciary. She also added—this is most important and I am underlining these words—that the temple would be constructed at all costs; for which the so-called Babri Masjid will have to be demolished. This was held on the 23rd November, 1992. Shrimati Vijaya Raje Scindia is a member of the Governing Council of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and also a responsible person. She has stated, "The mosque will have to be demolished." So they were determined about it. They have planned. They have already speld it out. The date for demolition was also fixed. They said, "In any event, at any cost, we will violate the court orders. We will go against the court orders. It is a matter of religious faith. We will do it. It is not a question of constructing the Ram Lalla temple but we will demolish the masjid." I again quote from the White Paper. On page 114 it is said, "And whereas Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Joint General Secretary of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, in a press conference in Delhi on the 28th November, 1992, warned that in case legal battle and the politics came in the way of temple renovation at Ayodhya, direct action in respect of all other mosques which were built, after demolition of temple cannot be ruled out;" So this was another threatening statement. What they have spelt out has been done by them. This was also within the cognizance of the Government, within the knowledge of the Government, much earlier than the sad Sunday. I again quote from page 114, "And where as the Vishwa Hindu Parishad

has been similarly encouraging and aiding its followers to promote or attempt to promote, on grounds of religion, disharmony or feelings of enmity hatred or ill will between different communities;" This information was there for reasoning out, for banning this particular institution.

Now my question to the Government is, having known about their intentions much earlier, why are you promulgating all these orders now? What prevented you from promulgation of all these orders prior to this date? That is my question. The whole world is asking this question. All reasonable persons, I think, will agree with me on this question. I think there is nobody to disagree with me. You have put it concretely, in black and white and you have given this White Paper and it is blackening your regime. This is what is all there. You have been in the cognisance of it. It was within the knowledge of this Government and the Government has been sleeping over it or not, I leave it to the best judgement of the persons concerned, to this House and to you also, Madam Vice-Chair-person. The Government may say in a jugglery of words: "No, no, we did not know about it. We trusted the BJP. We trusted these people. We trusted the *sadhus*. We thought that *sadhus* will really behave like *sadhus*. But they are not *sadhus*." These arguments will not hold good with any person concerned, more so with all the politicians here and more so in this House because you have put everything in black and white.

Madam, apart from that, there is another aspect also which I would like to submit. In this context, I refer again to the White Paper, page 73, wherein the hon. Home Minister wrote a letter to the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh on December 5, 1992. I quote:

"I have written to you on a number of occasions regarding the security of the RJB-BM structure. In your last letter dated 2 December, 1992, you have once again reiterated the State Government's commitment to protect the structure. However, our concern in this regard continues and is heightened by the large collection of kar sevaks at Ayodhya for the proposed kar seva.

There are reports that the kar sevaks are in a restive and even belligerent mood and that many of them are resorting to extensive purchases of Trishuls which can even be used for offensive purposes. It is also learnt that some of them are hostile to the Central forces. It is further learnt that with the massive influx of kar sevaks, the number of devotees visiting the shrine has gone up considerably."

Then, I pass on to the fourth paragraph which is the most important paragraph. Fourth paragraph. I rely upon the last line.

"The building overlooking the RJB-BM structure also needs to be secured to prevent the possibility of any attempt being made from those buildings to damage the disputed structure."

Then I quote the first line of paragraph 5. I underline this. This is the most important thing.

"The possibility of some mischievous elements using explosives to damage the RJB-BM structure cannot be ruled out."

So, it was within the cognizance and knowledge of the Home Minister by 5th December, that is, a day before the Black Sunday, that something was going to happen. The possibility of the calamity was there and it could not be ruled out, even according to Home Minister. He had the knowledge that they might come with explosives and even damage the structure.

In the last paragraph, it is said:

"As you are aware, contingents of Central para-military forces have already been stationed at various places in Uttar Pradesh so as to make them available at short notice if required by the State Government for the security of the disputed structure and maintenance of law and order in view of the call for the 'kar seva'." I understand that only about 23 coys, including 4 coys of CRPF are currently deployed for security arrangements in and around RJB-BM complex. It is felt that this strength may not be sufficient to meet the security

requirements, especially if any untoward development takes place."

I underline the words "if any untoward development takes place." So, I charge that it was fully within the knowledge and cognizance of the Government that there was going to be a terrible consequence and that some calamity was going to happen. It was fully within their knowledge that it was to be averted. A reading of the letter and the notification which I have read out clearly shows that prior to the calamity, they were fully aware of it.

Madam, I would now invite your attention and the attention of the House to the number of companies of Central paramilitary forces stationed there. At page 4, it is said :

"As a measure of abundant caution, however, the Central Government had stationed 195 companies of Central paramilitary forces near Ayodhya in November 1992 so that this could be made available at short notice if and when required by the State Government or for any other contingent purposes."

So, Madam, these 195 companies were there already stationed by November 22, in November itself. What have these forces been doing all these days? According to the letter of the Home Minister, the information as to the number of persons arriving there was also there. He has stated, in his letter which I have read out, about the surging crowd of 'kar sevaks' in this context, it is clear that they were fully seized of the matter, the piquant situation, where there was every danger for the mosque. Should I take it that they have believed the words of somebody, trusted the words of the BJP or somebody else? They are throwing the responsibility on somebody. My only question is, what happened to these 195 companies of paramilitary forces deployed there? Why did you not ask them or order them to be there near the mosque when you yourself were fully aware of the situation? From the letter of the hon. Home Minister, anyone with a reasonable degree of commonsense could come to the conclusion that they were apprehending a great calamity. In that event, what prevented this Government from moving all those 195 companies of para-military forces to the actual place of the Babri Masjid to avoid the calamity? This is the question that has to be answered. But they cannot answer it. Any explanation could only be, "After all things have happened, you must somehow getover." An explanation is always an explanation. And, the guilt is there on the side of the Government also. I should say that they have taken proper action. Now I am referring to the President's Address. The President has referred this matter to the Supreme Court under article 143 of the Constitution on 7th January 1993. Madam, my question is, when the situation was so explosive and the problem was creating such a headache, it should have been tackled properly. It is not as if this problem started now only. It started in 1949 and attained its present dimension by 6th December 1992. So many fiery speeches were delivered to fill the minds of the volunteers with communal frenzy. They were asked to come and assemble at Ayodhya in order to demolish the mosque. You have not taken any action against these people. Now, you are banning these organisations and imposing restrictions on them. But this fact was already within your knowledge. What prevented you from taking action against these people? The Central Government simply slept over the matter. Now, once the entire episode has taken place, you are taking cognisance of this fact and saying that the rule of law is taking care of them. Was there no rule of law at that time when this incident occurred? When it was within your knowledge, why have you not taken any action? That is why there is a lot of suspicion in the mind of the public that you were hand in glove with those persons who were responsible for this incident and that is a very reasonable and logical conclusion to which one can come under these circumstances. The Government cannot say any thing against that. You cannot call it even a criticism against the Government. I can say that it is a logical conclusion which one should draw out of an occurrence of this magnitude. When you are aware of the fact that certain things are going to happen, you should have taken the necessary steps to stop the occurrence of those things. I read

this statement of the Government in the newspapers that they never expected that this would happen. This was never expected by them that things would take such a turn. Even the officials in responsible posts did not expect it. The Government thought that they would perform *Shilanyas, do pooja and recite some bhajans.* This appears to be a cock and bull story. The White Paper brought out by the Government is a paper which is blackening the face of your Government. The Government has stated in it that they were aware of the explosive situation, they were conscious of it and they expected it. The Government trusted these people. Now, all your arguments have come to naught with the destruction of the structure. When our leader, Dr. Kalaignar, was asked by reporters as to what his reaction was about the Avodhya incident, he said, "When the horse is out of the stable, you are bolting the stable." The horse is already out of the stable, according to him. I stand by his explanation. The horse was out of the stable in November itself You have not taken any action till 5th of December, 1992. Suddenly, you started taking quick action on 7th, 8th and 9th December, 1992 and started banning these organisations. The Government took cognisance of these things at a belated stage though it was having all information through its secret agencies the CID and other agencies. Even a cassette of the fiery speeches made by these people is there with the Government. But the Government has not taken any action. Now, you cannot say that you were not aware of all these things. We have got every reason to criticise the Government. The people at large are apprehending that the Government was hand in glove with the parties concerned. There is a Tamil saying:

That is, I act as assaulting you, weep pretendedly. You are only pretending to be striking the child—it is only a pretence —and you are already intimating the child to weep as if you are hitting. So it is like that. Therefore, whatever explanations, tons of explanations your intellectuals may now be preparing and giving, I would like to submit that it goes without an iota of truth, an iota of common sense and it will not stand to reason. Madam, this is due to bungling on the part of the Government that the Ayodhya issue has been mishandled. Had a proper action at the proper hour, at the proper time been taken, necessarily this calamity could have been avoided. The President says, "The very foundation of the Constitution is being undermined." At whose behest? Even now the President does not tell us this. That is my regret. I regret it very much. When you come out with the truth and you are fortified with all these documents, you should have told this. I don't know for what reasons he does not spell out the persons found guilty of it. That is lending support to the suspicion of the public that still you are having something to do with that party. You say that they are responsible. You are throwing the responsibility on them. The Home Minister says—I don't want to waste the time of the House by referring to them—a lot of letters are passed on and to those letters a particular Minister has not replied at all. We have heard in the House that a platform was built, a platform of 6 ft. × 30 ft at Avodhya and all the Opposition parties questioned this act. But by the time you complete representing this matter, the whole matter was over. What was the reply of the Home Minister? "No, no, I have telephoned to the CM; he will be coming by the evening and we will have a talk over it." You will see, by the time Friday comes, then Saturday, Sunday are holidays, and on Monday, when we come to the House, everthing will be over. That platform of 6 ft. × 30 ft. is complete. Then, another commission goes there. They are looking at it from a distance. They are not even going near to that. That is all that has happened. "This is a platform—we are not putting anything" and so on and so forth. Therefore, I would like to place it on record that the Government's performance is not clean, its hands are not clean. I submit that whatever may be the action taken now, the action is belated. Only because of this belated attempt, this occurrence, an untoward occurrence, has taken place : all as Indians hang our head down before the entire world. At this juncture we must also remember that the same thing happened when the hon. V. P. Singh was the Prime Minister. What happened then? About 150 miles

away all these people were held. Then also there was a danger. They said, "We will go and see. We are going to enter these premises." He said, "No; nothing doing." One hundred and fifty miles away all these people were held. How was it that V. P. Singh was able to do that? How is it that you are not able to do that? That is my charge. For taking that action and for the Mandal Commission he was pulled out of his office and he was sent out. Now, the people will think about it and certainly they will feel for it, that they had sent a good man out for the action he had taken at a right time a right action was taken by V. P. Singh. Unfortunately for having done a right thing he had to leave his office. He had to leave because of the very same people who are now dilly-dallying in this Government but who had given support to him and had also withdrawn the support. For what reasons? They had bargained. They said, "You allow our people to go inside; otherwise, we will withdraw our support." V. P. Singh said, "No; nothing doing. I hold even if I have to lose my office, even if I have to go out, you can't compel me to do a think which is determental to the Constitution, which is deterimental to the unity of the country." Therefore, he had done that. I place on record his firm stand on the issue.

Madam, the second thing that I would like to submit is this. There is no reference to the language policy at all. That is like the Damocles sword. Since I come from Tamil Nadu, I have to say that. It is nothing but a Democles sword. Off and on imposition of Hindi will show its head sneakishly. Whenever there is an agitation and all that, these people will resent and come back and again after some time they will start. It started like this. The Official Language Act was passed in 1963.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : Mr. Venkataraman, you have to conclude within five minutes.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : Madam, our party has got forty-two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : No. Thirty-two minutes, not forty-two minutes

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : I stand corrected, Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : No. I am saying within six minutes you have to complete. Six more minutes are left for you. (*Interruptions*)... Six minutes are left for you. You have to complete within six minutes.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : I beg for your indulgence for a few minutes more.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal) : You have already got six more minutes.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATMAMAN : I know that. I am putting it in advance.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : Try to conclude within your time. (*Interruptions*)... Try to conclude within your time, within six minutes.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : I am sorry, I have dwelt much on the BJP.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM : That is all right.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : I don't want any intervention.

Madam, I would like to submit that the language question is most important. Why I am bringing this is that Hindi enthusiasts, officers, in 1965 issued some circulars in Hindi to herald the 15th anniversary of the Republic. This was resented right from the days of Thanthai Periyar. The first gentleman who had introduced Hindi was Rajaji, who was the first Indian Governor-General of India. The very same gentleman, Rajaji—it will be relevant to point out—on 18th June, 1964, at T. Nagar Public meeting he said and I quote :

> "Hindi is being imposed on the people who do not speak Hindi. As such, this act of Government is dividing our own people and creating difference of opinion. DMK volunteers and leaders are courting arrest. I, for one, will court arrest with them but for my old age."

These are the words of a ripe politician, a person who was the first Indian Governor-General of India. He had expressed his feeling that imposition of Hindi would certainly be harmful to the unity of India. I again quote :

"I heartily appreciate and congratulate the anti-Hindi agitation of DMK leaders

and its cadres. We should not indulge in questions like why they are courting arrest for this purpose. But, we, the people of Tamil Nadu, should congratulate them."

These are the laurels that have been given by no less a person than the Governor-General of Inda, Rajaji. Now I also quote another person who belonged to the Treasury Benches, who was called Karmaveerar Kamaraj. He said at Arani in Tamil Nadu on 2-5-1965 and I quote :

> "Hindi fanatics should not command the people of south to study Hindi. Any language if imposed upon the people against their sentiments will end in chaos."

Why I am putting all these things is that you must always be on guard, otherwise you will be disturbing the peace in Tamil Nadu and of the country. You cannot thrust a language on the people concerned. In 1965 there was a great upsurge and our leader Dr. Kalaingar was put behind bars at Palayamkottai. There he served his solitary confinement. Why I am raising this issue now is that Hindi is again sneakishly coming in the form of national programmes. About a month ago, in January, there was a change in the timing of the national programme by which they have curtained the programme in Tamil which caused resentment among the people of Tamil Nadu who do not know Hindi, who do not want Hindi. There is a strong resentment over the taking away of the time and there is no difference of opinion among the political parties. They are one at this juncture. They don't want Hindi to be imposed. The assurance of Pandit Nehru, Shastri, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi is there that English will continue and Hindi will also be there. Then why are you unnecessarily disturbing this? You are testing our patience. Don't test our patience. It will lead to unnecessary disunity. When you are speaking about unity, don't divide the nation on the question of language.

Is it so because the language is spoken by majority of the tpeople ? Not at all. Even while passing the legislation the President had to cast his vote. Mr. Sitaramaiah had to cast his vote. Otherwise, that could not have been passed. It is my duty to point out that on the question of language you should not divide the people. The *status quo ante* must be there and the programmes of Tamil should be continued.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : Please conclude.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : Madam, give me a few minutes more.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : You conclude within one minute.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : Madam, give me five minutes more. I will conclude within five minutes. prices of essential commodities. Madam, they have hiked the price of rice, sugar, steel, coal and other essential commodities. The State Government of Tamil Nadu says, "The Central Govt. has raised the prices. It is not our concern." When the DMK regime was there they were supplying 20 kilograms of rice. Then the coarse variety was sold at Rs. 2 per kilogram and the fine variety was sold as at Rs. 2.75 per kilogram. Now the coarse variety is sold at Rs. 2.75 and the fine variety is sold at Rs. 3.15 per kilogram. The State Government says, the Central Government is responsible for that. The Centre says, it is not so. The fact remains that there is hike in prices. The poor man is hit hard below the belt. One hon. Member from the other side has given some statistics. He said the prices have come [illegible] Madam, the prices have never come down. It was written in the Congress election manifesto that within hundred days prices would be rolled down. But nothing has happened. So many hundreds of days have passed. The hike is going sky-high. Nobody is able to say what will happen tomorrow. Milk is sold Rs. 10 per litre. In the case of sugar also the price is increased by Rs. 2 per kilogram. Even salt is costing Rs. 2. But this Government claims that the prices have come down. But in reality it is not so. Therefore, the Government must do something seriously to bring down prices. If they are not able to reduce the prices, at least, they can see that the prices are kept at the same level.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry) : It is being done.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : Mr. Narayanasamy, you are not the Prime Minister.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : Kindly conclude now.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : So, my submission is...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY : Madam, he is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : Mr. Narayanasamy, pleased don't interrupt.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY : He is not concluding. Therefore, I...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : I am asking him to conclude. If you go on interrupting like this, then he will not conclude.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : I am sorry to say that the educated unemployed problem has not been dealt with in the President's Address. I want to submit some statistics.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : Kindly conclude now.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : Madam, I am the only man speaking on behalf of my party. I have not wasted even a single minute.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : That is true. But you have already taken your time. You can speak only within the allotted time.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY : Madam, he can speak only...

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : Why are you unnecessarily picking up a quarrel with me?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : Mr. Narayanasamy, please don't interrupt. Let him conclude. Please conclude now.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : The number of unemployed medical graduates and post graduates in Tamil Nadu is 3729. The number of unemployed engineering graduates is 1,01,168 and other graduates and post-graduates is 3,02,752. So, in this regard nothing has been done by this Government. Now I come to the statistics of UP. The number of medical graduates and post-graduates in UP is 3,614 and engineering graduates is 7942. Other graduates including the post-graduates - 4,90,143. In Maharashtra, in the case of medical graduates the ummber is 3,862 and engineering graduates - 6,618. All graduates put together - 2,28,836. We have 1493 medical graduates who are unemployed and 6,609 engineering graduates who are unemployed. All put togeuer it comes to 3,60,026. In Delhi there are 376 unemployed medical graduates and 1712 unemployed engineering graduates. Of the other graduates the figure is 2,10,214. In Andhra Pradesh it is 2,800 in the case of medical graduates and 10,991 engineering graduates who are unemployed. All graduates put together it is 2,40,344... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY : Is it an employment exchange ?...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN : I don't want you to interfere ...*(Interruptions)*... In Karnataka 919 medical graduates and 14,961 engineering graduates are unemployed. In the case of other graduates the figure is 1,17,178. In Kerala 2,252 medical graduates and 8,361 engineering graduates are unemployed. All graduates put together it is 1,50,657. So what are the ways and means ? Is there any plan which has so far been implemented to imbibe or absorb these people ? There is nothing to this effect in the President's Address. There are many other things but I will not go into them. This Address of the President is not welcome and I cannot endorse it. This I say with regret. Thank you.

*SHRI JAGIR SINGH DARD (Punjab) : Madam, I thank the Hon'ble President for his Address. I would like to draw your attention to pre-partition days.

*English translation of original speech delivered in Punjabi.

The Punjabis in general, and the Sikhs in particular, played an importatnt role in the freedom struggle. The Country became independent and Pandit Nehru held the reins of Government. He thought that the country needed foodgrains first of all. He started the construction of Bhakra Dam. Thereafter he established the Agriculture University. It produced Water and Power and good quality seeds and increased the production in Punjab. Punjab became prosperous and at that point of time the Akali Dal, which is a communal party, ought to have supported the Government. But they became hostile to it. Thereafter, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri became Prime Minister. Then Smt. Indira Gandhi came to power. He gave Punjabi Suba to the State. That was the time when Akalis could have helped Congress in the development of the State. But these became hostile even to her and formed a Government in alliance with Jan Sangh. After Indiraji, Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister. But they were opposed to him also. Then they became hositle to Shri V. P. Singh and even Shri Chandra Sekhar and Shri Devi Lal who were, otherwise, their good friends. I do not know what they acutualy want. I am reminded of an instance. In 1857, a society was formed in Ireland. They held their first meeting to decide about their aims and objects. One Finnian arrived a bit late and inquired about their programme. Their object was very simple. It was to spread hatred against the British in whatever way it was possible. Similarly, they (Akalis) spread hatred against the Congress among the Sikhs to the maximum extent possible

One Finnian was travelling in a boat which capsized in the sea. But the Finnian swam ashore. One policeman asked him, "May I help you." But the Finnian noticed that he was a policeman. He enquired of the policeman, "Gentleman! Is there any Govt. in this island ?" The policeman said, "Yes", Since the Finnian was against the Govenrment, he let go his hand and said, "Let me die peacefully. I am against the Govt." Madam, same is the case with our Akali friends .

The Hon'ble President showered a lot of praise on Punjab. He said that the industry, Agriculture has progressed there and it has given a clean administration, gunned down the terrorists, held the elections to Municipalities and Panchayats, In the context of prosperity, I am reminded of a Punjabi couplet :—

रक्कड़ बेले ट्रैक्टरां बाह् दित्ते,
बग रांझे दाबरे तां चरे कित्थे ।
गया हुसन दा एतबार मुड़दों,
इश्क नौकरी करे तां करे कित्थे ।।
बन्धे पुल ते बेड़ियां पैंदियाने,
लोकों बो दरियावां दे रुख मोड़े ।
कच्चे घड़े नू हिकड़ी नाल लाके ।
सोनी डुब के बरे तां मरे कित्थे ।।

Madam, you will be surprise to know that when the terrorists were in the prime of their activities, Mr. Harcharan Singh longowal was killed. No Akali condemned it. Then, Mr. Balwant Singh, their Finance Minister, was killed, but the Akalis kept mum. Then, Smt. Rajender Kaur, D/o Master Tara Singh, was killed but they do not utter a single word. Then Shri Gurcharan Singh Tohra, President SGPC, was fired at an injured but they did not condemn it. Then Shri Jagdev Singh Talwandi was fired at but they did not utter anything. Thereafter, Shri Kabul Singh was fired at but they kept quiet. They maintained complete silence. Thereafter, Shri Ajit Singh Bains appointed a Human Rights Commissions on his own. That Commission does not visit the families who are victims of the terrorists but it visits the families of those terrorists who are killed and they propagate that violence is being let loose.

Now, what about their policy? Mr. Mann said that he won't allow the mosque to be demolished. Mr. Badal said that he would go to perform Kar Seva at the Temple. What was the result The result was that demolition of Gurudwaras started In Lahore, Shaheedganj Gurdwara, which had been acquired after a lot of litigation, was destroyed by rockets. The same thing happened in Afganistan.

Similar incidents took place in England and Bangladesh. But they are silent. Our Chief Minister asked them as to what for they were staging Dharnas. Is it because peace has been restored? If they want to stage Dharnas, they should do it in Lahore where Gurdwaras have been demolished.

They talk of Khalistan. Madam, how can Khalistan survive where there is neither steel, nor coal, nor timber, but only water and petrol in the state. If the river Sutlej is diverted from Simla and a dam is built, above Kalka they will not have even water. It will be ruined.

Madam, I am thankful to the Prime Minister for announcing the elections. Akali Dal was scared of the militants also and it boycotted the elections. The Congress Party won the elections and came to Power. Sardar Beant Singh, who is a man of conviction and courage, said that he may survive or not but he will see to it that the terrorists do not survive because they had ruined the State. He served the state even at the risk of his family members and, as a result we find peace in the state. When he took charge, the judiciary was defunct, the executive was defunct and even the Press was defunct. People were disappointed. There was only one paper 'Hind Samachar' which was active inspite of making great sacrifices. The entire state of Punjab was passive.

There was a Roman King called Nero. When he was captured by the Revolutionaries and was about to be killed by them, he told them that they were killing the greatest artist of the world. He said that the flowers blossomed because of him, there was hustle and bustle in the country because of him. Similarly, the credit goes to Sardar Beant Singh because of whom marriage take place in Punajb, the conferences are held in Punjab. Not only that Persons like Mann and Badal who dared not move out earlier, now hold conferences openly. The entire credit goes to the brave man Beant Singh for this.

Mr. Khuswant Singh has written a book titled "Khuswant Singh's India". He says; In 1962, when to meet Master Tara Singh in Delhi Elderly people with flowing beards and Kirpans were present there. Afterwards, a gentleman came there with a well-knit beard. I was told that was Sardar Kapoor Singh I. C. S. When I was about to leave, Kapoor Singh requested me to drop him at Parliament House. He (Khuswant Singh) says that while sitting in the car, he was hesitant to start a dialogue with Kapoor Singh. He (Khuswant Singh) asked him as to who those people were, Mr. Kapoor Singh., said they were foolish brutes, ruffians, greedy, illiterate unreliable, and rustic people. He used seven adjectives for them. I asked him why he had collected such people. Thereupon, S. Kapoor Singh said that the Akali Dal could not do without them. Why? Because they were very efficient at collecting funds. Secondly, they are eager to stage morchas. No intelligent man can do that. That's why they are indispensable for us. Then Kapoor Singh said as to where these people will lead the Sikhs Madam, that was started in 1962. Today we find where they have led us. We have neither honour nor respect nor the dignity of Gurdwaras. Everything has fallen flat.

Madam, Punjab has made a lot of sacrifice. It has suffered enormous loss. I appeal to the Central Government that they should solve the issue of Punjab. Chandigarh should be given to Punjab. Our Chief Minister has said that he is prepared to give 77000 acres of land to Haryana in Lieu of Chandigarh.

Secondly, Punjabi should be given the status of a second language in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Chandigarh and Delhi. The river water dispute should be referred to the Supreme Court. The issue of areas should also be referred to a Commission. It must be solved at the earliest because these two sister States can provide foodgrains for the whole country.

I would like to make a suggestion. Punjab owes a sum of Rs. 6600 crores to the centre. It should be written off.

When refugees from Bangladesh came to our country, the whole naion was tax-

ed to feed these people. Similarly, a special tax be imposed on all the states to put the economy of Punjab back on rails.

Madam, Sardar Partap Singh once made a speech in Amritsar. He said, 'O Lord, I am helpless within the precincts of Gurdwaras. You should give them good sense there and I will provide them good sense outside.

The same thing happened. He brought their entire movement to an end. I repeat the same thing that God Almighty should give them good sense within Gurdwaras and Sardar Beant Singh will do it outside.

Madam, I listened carefully to the speech of Sushmaji, She presented a weak case in such a strong manner from the point of view of her party that it was wonderful. She said that the Rally was ruthlessly crushed. I agree on one point which was mentioned by the Home Minister. I am also sorry for the excesses on Members of Parliament.

She said that democracy was murdered. But I would like to ask her as to why she did not shed any tears on 6th of December when the mosque was demolished. If she had done so, her speech would have been a splendid one.

Madam, I would like to submit another point. Some time before the death of Mahatma Gandhi, they had held a rally in Delhi. Shri Golwalkar was alive at that time. While making his speech, Shri Golwalkar said that even Lord Brahma could not challenge the strength of Sangh. And Mahatma Gandhi was murdered a few days thereafter. Similarly, they wanted to hold another rally. If the Govt. had not crushed it with a strong hand, R. S. S. and Siv Sena would not have obeyed the discipline of BJP as they are not their members. If they had started demolishing mosques in Delhi, the Govt. would have had no alternative but to resort to firing. Thousands of persons would have been killed.

I feel that they should not have been believed when they had not kept their promise earlier. It would have been simply foolish. Therefore, I feel that the Government did the right thing.

Moreover, religion and politics can never function together. Wherever they came together, the country was ruined. Madam, Mustafa Kamal Pasha of Turkey separated politics from religion and thereafter he wanted to introduce social reforms. But the fundamentalists Maulvis were opposed to him. When he got fed up with them, he called a meeting on the sea-shore and invited all the Maulvis and intellectuals there. He told them that he could not become a fundamentalists Muslim and they could not be liberal. So, it was no use fighting each other. He put them on a waiting ship and despatched them to the holy land of Mecca under the threat of aiming guns.

We being a democracy, cannot act in that manner. But I suggest that all the communal leaders of the country should be taken to a beautiful valley, along with their families if they so like, and settled there. They should be told that we will not allow the country to be destroyed by you people. Govt. should bear all their expenses and built, a Temple, a mosque, a Church and a Gurdwara in that valley. Those leaders should live there and perform their religious functions. This is the only remedy. Otherwise, they will ruin the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : How much more time will you take ?

SHRI JAGIR SINGH DARD : I can conclude whenever you like.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : I am not asking you to conclude.

Enough time has been allotted to your Party. You just tell me.

SHRI JAGIR SINGH DARD : Thank you Madam.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : I had not asked you to conclude. Your Party's time is

still left. I had asked you how long you would like to speak.

SHRI JAGIR SINGH DARD : Madam, I want to speak on education.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : You can speak. Your Party's time is not yet over.

SHRI JAGIR SINGH DARD : Madam, what does our education give us? It gives us only unemployed youth. The unemployed Youth either become terrorists, thieves' dacots or they become a burden for their parents. What is the remedy? It is quite simple. You should learn a lesson from Japan. I was a disciple of General Mohan Singh who was the founder of Azad Hind Fauj. I asked him once as to how the Japanese, who ate only a handful of rice, could fight the world powers in the World War II. What was the reason? He told me that their system of education was such that it taught their children to respect their parents, to owe their allegiance to their king and to feel proud of laying down their lives for their country. Each and every Japanese national wanted to die in the service of nation instead of dying in bed. He was instilled with a sense of sacrifice for his country. As a result, their slogan during the second World War was Fight against A, B, C, & D America, British, China and Dutch. These four world powers were beaten back by them.

Therefore I feel that we should reform our system of education. We have got Public Schools & Sacred Heart Schools. Public Schools are opposed even in England. They are anti-national, anti-social and anti-socialism. These institutions must be banned. There is so much disparity in our education. You have Selection Boards & UPSC for recruiting people for Government jobs. In these competitions, the students from public schools grab all the posts. When they have hold over administration, they naturally have hold over the economy and the Government. These are a State within the State. They must be banned. Even getting admission to these schools in very difficult. We approached one influential Member for the admission of a student but even he expressed his helplessness in the matter. These schools do not produce anything. They are a burden. They will not allow socialism to come to this country. When you don't have equality in education, how can you bring about equality in other spheres.

I am reminded of an incident about Maulana Azad which I would like to narrate for the benefit of my Muslim friends.

In 1947, when there was bloodshed all around, a delegation of Muslims met Jawaharlal Nehru and invited him to Jama Masjid. Pandit Nehru deputed Maulana Azad to go there. Maulana Azad, though reluctant, went there. While addressing the Muslims, Maulana Azad said that they had foiled all his attempts through words, writings or personal approach to make them understand the fact. He total them that those people in whom the Muslims had rested their faith had gone to Karachi. India is a secular country without any discrimination on the basis of religion. Therefore, they should join the mainstream. This statement of Maulana Azad made in 1947 is relevant even today.

The Mosque was attacked. All the communities helped their Muslim brethren because our is a secular country. When both Hindus and Muslims have to live here, and they have to co-exist, it is no use fighting each other. Wise persons from both the parties should sit together and find a solution of the problem. Otherwise, destruction is bound to result.

Madam, finally, I would like to submit that we could not become one nation. We were divided into various sects. When America was discovered, people from the entire Europe went there and become one nation. But we could not do that. We were divided into small segments. I think it is the fault of our education. It is education alone which can change the trend of a nation. We need to work hard to become one nation.

In conclusion, I reiterate that the Government should solve the issues of Punjab and I thank you, Madam.

SHRI S. MADHAVAN (Tamil Nadu) : Madam, I would like to place my views on the problems faced by our country as rightly emphasised in the Presidential Address.

Madam, I share the concern of the hon. President about the highly emotional and disturnbing communal situation in our country. I welcome the call of the hon. Prime Minister to all the secular forces in our counrty to join hands to face the onslaught from the communal forces. It is true one political party wants to take advantage of the emotional sentiments of the Hindus wih the ultimate aim to capture political power. I feel there are some issues which are agitating the minds of the Hindus. One political party and its supporting organisations are highlighting these issues. They incite the sentiments and the feelings of the Hindus. Unless the Government examines these issues and removes the apprehensions of the Hindus, the communal forces are going to exploit the sentiments of the Hindus in their political career.

One important issue is about the right of minorities to establish and run educational institutions under article 30 of our Constitution. Nobody questions this right of minorities but the real question is whether these minority educational institutions are subject to the laws of the land which apply to similar educational institutions in our country, for example, with regard to the service conditions of the teachers employed in the minority institutions, the capitation fee charged by these minority institutions and admission of students according to the rules of reservation in the case of backward classes and the Scheduled Castes. The Government must take steps to amend article 30 of the Constitution to confirm the right of the minorities to establish and run the educational institutions subject to the laws of the land which are applicable to similar other institutions in the country.

The other importatnt issue exploited by the communal forces is the population increase in the minority communiies and birth control system. Fear is being created among the Hindu community that Muslim population is going to swallow the Hindu population. Whether it is true or not, the Government must take immediate action to formulate a uniform birth control policy to remove the fears of Hindus.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) in the Chair]

The other issue exploited by the communal forces is about conversion of weaker sections of the Hindu community. Wild allegations spread by rumour-mongering organs of the communal parties are that Islamic countries and Islamic Institutions are spending huge amount of mnoey to convert Hindu weaker sections into Islam exploiting their poverty. Whether it is true or not, the Government must take steps to curb the mass conversion and prevent foreign missionaries indulging in such activities and prove that this propaganda by the communal forces is false. For example, recently, there was a wide publicity given in the Tamil papers in Tamil Nadu that Pakistanis are being infiltrated into Tamil Nadu from Sri Lanka to create communal riots. This fact has been communicated by the Indian High Commission in Sri Lanka to the Government of India at Delhi. I don't think any action has been taken to deny it or any action taken to prevent Pakistanis infiltrating with fake passports from Sri Lanka.

The recent development is about organising religious festivals and processions with pump and show, spending levishly. My revered leader MGR condemned it in the Legislative Assembly in Tamil Nadu. They create ill-feelings and hatred among different religious sections. Government must take steps to prevent huge spending on such a public show of strength in religious festivals and processions. At least this should be checked in the sensitive areas in the country where communal riots repeatedly take place. For example, in Tamil Nadu, Hindu Munnani is there which is not banned. The other day the Congress Members from Tamil Nadu advised the Government to ban this organisation. It is a communal organisation. Recently, it chose a communally-sensitive

area in Tamil Nadu, Coimbatore, to conduct a big show of their strength with pump and show, spending lakhs of rupees and incite communal hatred in Tamil Nadu.

There is another propaganda that the Congress Government, during the past many years, has failed to implement the Directive Principles of bringing a common civil code for all citizens.

4.00 P.M.

The communal forces do propaganda that Muslims are enjoing the right of polygamy, to marry four wives, while the right of polygamy for Hindus is taken away by the Hindu Law. They incite and exploit the sentiments of Hindus as if in every family, every muslim has four wives and, hence, their population is increasing day by day.

The blunder committed by the Congress Government in the *Shah Bano* case added fuel to this false propaganda by communal forces. Sir, the Criminal procedure Code provides the right to an estranged wife to get maintenance. This is an easy remedy which can be obtained and enforced without much cost. This law does not apply to all Muslims compulsorily. But if a Muslim woman wants to take advantage of this speedy remedy why should she be deprived of her right ? Why should the law have been amended ? The Criminal Procedure Code does not take away the right of any citizen to seek remedy under his personal law, to get maintenance.

Another aspect is the right to take out a religious procession on a particular public road where a place of worship is located. This always happens in many places in the country which leads to confrontation between the two communities. The fundamentalists in both the religious make this as a prestige issue and incite communal hatred. The Government therefore, must come forward to frame guidelines to avoid such confrontations in future.

Another thing is, during elections, religious places are used for vote-canvassing in spite of prohibitions under the law. When you bring in electoral reforms, you should keep this in mind. You should prevent the use of religion in any form in election propaganda, by stringent measures. I am glad that a section of the Congress leaders has highlighted this issue and taking action to amend the Representation of the People Act. Unless you remove these causes which give a long rope to the religious fundamentalists to incite communal hatred, the communal forces would always try to exploit the situation to attain their ambition, to attain power. Any political party which wants to dominate the country with one religion and one language is the greatest potential danger to the unity of the country.

Sir, the President's Address mentiones about inflation, price rise and the new liberalised economic policy. At the outset, I must condemn the unilateral decision of the Government of India increasing the price of rice and sugar supplied through the public distribution system, without consulting the State Governments. It is they who have to face the consequences directly from the lower strata of the public. All political parties want to give more price to the peddy and sugarcane growers. At the same time, they all oppose the price rise of sugar and rice. This anomaly can be removed by the Government of India by taking into confidence and consulting the State Governments and other political parties before fixing the prices of essential commodities.

In the name of liberalised economic policy, the Government of India is inviting foreigners to invest in power projects in the country. Water and coal are here for producing hydel and thermal power. Then, why should we invite foreigners ? Is it to get the knowhow and machinery from them, after forty-five years of Indpendence. I will quote an example. The Malaysian Government is happy with the power generation equipment supplied by the public sector undertaking, BHEL, in Trichy, Tamil Nadu. The BHEL has been invited by the Minister of the Malaysian Government. He came to Tamil Nadu and personally invited them to come and help in setting up power projects in their country. When this is the case, why

should the Centre invite foreigners to come and exploit our own resources? The Government has also decided to give guarantee for investments and profit repartriation. The foreigners will be free to fix the price of electricity. It is going to happen. They are going to be permitted to distribute electricity to the consumers. There poor farmers will have to pay more price for electricity in future.

The recent announcement of the Government of India, allowing the import of the LPG cylinders and kerosene by the private sector, is going to create a dual-price system and two classes of Indian citizens. The affluent classes of the people of India are going to be benefited by importing gas and kerosene. This will help only multinational companies to come and exploit the people of India here.

The President has called for unity. The question is whether we want unity or uniformity. For the past 45 years we have been trying to enforce uniformity in the name of unity. The Congress Party must go back and read the resolutions passed by it prior to independence. One language, one culture, the unitary form of government and the concentration of power at the Centre have failed. The ruling party in this country must realise this situation.

For example, I wrote to the Government of India, the Minister and the Prime Minister, pointing out one fact. I requested the Government of India not to use English or Hindi words in Tamil broadcasts on the radio. What is reply I got? There was a question in Parliament, and the answer was given by the Minister. A letter was written by the Minister. The reply of the Minister is that it is appropriate to use Hindi words and English words in Tamil broadcasts. This kind of an approach will lead to disintegration of this country. We must learn a lesson from the recent history of the Soviet Union.

Nobody in this country wants secession. Don't think that anybody in Tamil Nadu wants secession or division of the country. That is a false propaganda. We must go in for a true federal set-up. We must set up a new Constituent Assembly to frame a new constitution which will fulfil the aspirations of the linguistic, ethnic and cultural sections of the society and bring real unity that we want in this country.

What about the three-language formula? My friend has mentioned about it. Even after 45 years of independence, we talk about the three-language formula. It is a farcical and fraudulent three-language formula that they have been following. Why should be compel a villager in a remote part of Uttar Pradesh to learn the Tamil language? What is the use? You are deceiving the people, but don't try to fool the people of Tamil Nadu. We are not going to be deceived by this kind of argument, a Chief Minister coming from U.P. and saying to the Tamil Nadu people, "You see, I am going to provide facilities for learning the language of your State, Tamil, in U.P.." It is a false propaganda. Nobody will believe it. Ultimately this three-language formula is going to be a one-language formula because you all want Hindi. I have been here for the past three years. I am not able to take my telephone and speak in English. I will say, "*Hindi nahin maloom hai. Angrezi bolo.*" But nobody speaks English. This is the difficulty the people coming from Tamil Nadu or other parts of South India are facing in Delhi, the Headquarters, not only for the Hindi people but for all the people. Mere assurances and the Official Languages Act, giving to the English language the status of an associate language, will not satisfy the Tamil people. The great leader, Nehru, had magnanimously given an assurance to all the non-Hindi people that English would continue as an associate language along with Hindi till all the non-Hindi people would accept the Hindi language.

We are not opposing Hindi at all. We want to learn Hindi. But the policy that Hindi is the only official language, you must not state at any time in the future. That is the point we are opposing. That is why the whole of Tamil Nadu, including the Congress Members there, want that

this assurance of our great leader, Nehru, must be incorporated in our Constitution. I know that we are amending the Constitution a number of times. But the people will have faith in our Constitution, the sacred document of this country, has got this provision that non-Hindi knowing people need not be afraid of the imposition of the Hindi language any time in the future. That is what we always tell the Government of India whether it is of the Congress Party or any other party. I am convinced the Congress Party is the only party in this country which can give solace to the non-Hindi-speaking people. While talking of the all-India parties, I am not talking of the Communist parties. In this connection I am referring especially to the party which wants to come to power politically using the Hindu communal card. They are for one language and one Hindu religion. That is the policy of that party which wants the Hindu communal forces to capture the political power. (*Interruptions*) We know you are for Hindi. More than Hindi, you are for Sanskrit to rule the Tamil people. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Gautam, please do not interrupt him.

SHRI S. MADHAVAN : Tamil Nadu has suffered by the imposition of Hindi, Sanskrit, English, Urdu. Every conquerer has imposed some language on us in Tamil Nadu. In Tamil Nadu, we have got more people speaking other languages than Tamil. That is why we are afraid of the future imposition of Hindi in our State. That is why our whole State is prepared to fight with any party, either with the Congress party or with the BJP to fight tooth and nail to oppose imposition of Hindi. If you decide that Hindi will come anywhere at any time in this country as the only official language, you will also see that Tamil Nadu will not be in India. That is the feeling of the young people of Tamil Nadu. (*Interruptions*) They may not be in majority. All majority people do not want division of this country. No political party wants secession of this country. But you are inciting the young blood of our Tamils to rise against the imposition of Hindi. That is the warning I want to give to the Congress Government. I believe in the leadership of the Congress Party. We believe that they are also followers of Pandit Nehru. They are going to rule this country. They will support the feelings of the non-Hindi-speaking people. With these worlds I thank the President for his Address.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the sentence regarding the secession of the State on imposition of Hindi should be removed from the record. That is not good.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : That is the way of speaking of the hon. Member. Let him do that.

श्री रामजी लाल (हरियाणा) : मान्यवर, महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव का मैं समर्थन करता हूं । राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण, जो कि उन्होंने इस सत्र के प्रारम्भिक दिन में संसद के दोनों सदनों के माननीय सदस्यों को संबोधित किया था, प्रशंसनीय है। राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण हमारी सरकार के आने वाले दिनों का एक महत्वपूर्ण एजेंडा है । सही शब्दों में, मान्यवर, यह अभिभाषण हमारे राष्ट्र की अर्थव्यवस्था के हर पहलू को छूता है । कृषि से लेकर उद्योग तक, समाज के गरीब एवं शोषित वर्गों से लेकर ग्राम पंचायत तक की सभी बातें इस अभिभाषण में शामिल हैं ।

मान्यवर, सरकार ने रामजन्म भूमि-बाबरी मस्जिद विवाद को सुलझाने के लिए जो कदम उठाए हैं, वे सराहनीय हैं । पंजाब और जम्मू-कश्मीर के उग्रवादियों पर अंकुश, पंजाब से आतंकवादियों का समाप्त होना और वहां पर लोकतंत्र की बहाली पर मैं सरकार को मुबारकबाद देता हूं । यह वास्तव में एक प्रबुद्ध और व्यावहारिक नेतृत्व का परिचायक है । जम्मूकश्मीर में आतंकवादियों पर बहुत अंकुश लगा है और कुल मिलाकर स्थिति नियंत्रण में है ।

मान्यवर, हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री के योग्य एवं दूरदर्शी नेतृत्व में, जब कि देश में शांति और व्यवस्था वापिस लौट रही है, कुछ फासिस्ट ताकतें धर्म का सहारा लेकर देश में अव्यवस्था और अशांति की स्थिति पैदा कर रही हैं । यह बड़े ही दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि ऐसे समय में, जबकि हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था एक महत्वपूर्ण मोड़ पर आ चुकी है और विश्व के तमाम विकसित देश भारत में पूंजी निवेश करना चाहते हैं, कुछ फासिस्ट ताकतें अव्यवस्था और अशांति पैदा करना चाहती हैं । परन्तु, मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि हमारी सरकार हर तरह से सक्षम है और वह कट्टरपंथी ताकतों को मुंहतोड़ जवाब देगी ।

महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में सरकार द्वारा पंजाब के सभी अनसुलझे मामलों का समाधान करने का जिक्र किया गया है । इस संबंध में मैं आपके द्वारा निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि इसमें हरियाणा के हितों का भी ध्यान रखा जाए और उनकी अनदेखी न की जाए ।

मान्यवर, यह बड़े दुख की बात है कि आजादी के चार दशकों के बाद भी हमारे देश में सिर पर मैला ढोने की कुप्रथा विद्यमान है । राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में यह कहा है कि इस कुप्रथा को हटाया जाएगा, यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है । यह 5 साल की बजाए 3 साल में किया जाए क्योंकि हमारी आजादी के पश्चात इतना समय बीत जाने पर इस कुप्रथा को हटाया जा रहा है और इसके लिए मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद देता हूं ।

महोदय, समाज के गरीब एवं शोषित वर्गों की ग्राम पंचायतों की सभी बातें इसमें आई हैं । बैकवर्ड क्लास या निगम की स्थापना जो हुई है और जो कर रहे हैं वह बड़ा अच्छा कदम है । यह बड़ी प्रसन्नता की बात है कि सरकार ने पिछड़ी जाति के लोगों के विकास के लिए एक विकास निगम की स्थापना की है, मुझे आशा है कि यह विकास निगम सामाजिक एवं शैक्षिक रूप से पिछड़ी जातियों के उत्थान में एक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा करेगा । इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि

न्यायालय के निर्णय के बाद पिछड़े वर्गों की अपेक्षाएं सरकार से बढ़ी हैं । मेरा मानना है कि सरकार शीघ्र ही उच्चतम न्यायालय के निर्णय को लागू करेगी ताकि हम सामाजिक समरसता के वातावरण के मध्य एक समतामूलक समाज का निर्माण कर सकें ।

इसके साथ ही साथ, मान्यवर, राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में डाक्टर अम्बेडकर की समारोह संबंधी अनेक योजनाओं का जिक्र किया गया है । डा. अम्बेडकर की शताब्दी को दो वर्ष हो चुके हैं, लेकिन अभी तक भी उनके भाषणों और लेखों का हिन्दी और अन्य क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में अनुवाद नहीं हुआ है । बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर एक युग पुरुष थे । वे सामाजिक क्रांति के अग्रदूत थे । प्रश्न केवल उनकी मूर्ति बनाने का नहीं है, बल्कि उनके विचारों और जीवन-दर्शन को प्रचारित व प्रसारित करने का है ताकि हम सच्चे मायने में समाज के सभी वर्गों को उन्नत कर सकें ।

शिक्षा के संबंध में महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी ने कहा कि इसी दशक में 14 साल की आयु वाले सभी बच्चों को निःशुल्क एवं अनिवार्य शिक्षा दी जाएगी, यह सरकार का बड़ा सराहनीय कदम है ।

मान्यवर, इसके अतिरिक्त जे. आर. वाई. स्कीम जो 7वीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में 6,179 करोड़ रुपए थी, इस 8वीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में इसमें 30,000 करोड़ रुपया आया है ।

मान्यवर, मैं आपको बता देना चाहता हूं कि पिछले 20 साल से मैं स्टेट का, ब्लाक का और जिले का चेयरमैन रहा हूं । मुझे पता है कि इस स्कीम से पहले हरेक ब्लाक को एक साल में पांच लाख के करीब रुपया मिला था ।

हमारे हरियाणा में एक ब्लाक में लगभग 50 गांव होते हैं और एक गांव को सिर्फ दस हजार रुपए सालाना ग्रांट मिलती थी । इस जवाहर रोजगार योजना को स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी जी ने चालू किया, जो कि बहुत सराहनीय है । राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी का यह एक स्वप्न था, जो वह चाहते थे कि ग्रामीण भाई हैं, स्वराज उन तक

पहुंचें । इस स्वराज्य की बात को हमारे राजीव गांधी जी ने देखा और महसूस किया, जिससे इस जवाहर रोजगार योजना के तहत् हर एक गांव और हर एक ग्रामीण की तरक्की होगी । मैं इसके साथ-साथ यह बताना चाहता हूं कि आज गांव की क्या हालत है? मैं ही नहीं बहुत से सदस्यगण जो यहां बैठे हैं, वह सभी गांवों से ताल्लुक रखते हैं । पहले जमाने में और आज के जमाने में बड़ा भारी अंतर है । आज गांवों में सामलात भूमि पर कब्जे हो रहे हैं, ग्रामों में कहीं जंगलात नहीं है, शौचादि जाने के लिए जगह नहीं है । गांवों की इतनी खराब हालत होने की वजह से गांव के जो संपन्न परिवार हैं वे शहरों की तरफ आ रहे हैं । इस योजना के तहत् गांवों को अब पूरी ग्रांट्स मिलेंगी । इससे वहां पर वाटर वर्क्स का प्रबंध हो, सीवरेज का, सड़क का हो इत्यादि । जब सारी बातें होंगी तो लोग शहरों की ओर भी कम जाएंगे । इस संबंध में मैं सरकार को बधाई देता हूं कि यह कार्य बहुत अच्छा है । गांवों में पानी और बिजली का प्रबंध बहुत जरूरी है । हरियाणा में विकास के साथ-साथ पानी और बिजली भी चाहिए । हरियाणा में यमुनानगर के लिए एक थर्मल प्लांट मंजूर हो गया है लेकिन फरीदाबाद में अभी बाकी है । जब तक वह थर्मल प्लांट नहीं आएगा, बिजली की कमी रहेगी ।

मान्यवर, मैं आपके माध्यम से एक बात मंत्री जी तक पहुंचाना चाहता हूं कि जब मैं पहली बार पिछले अगस्त में सेशन में आया तो मैंने एक बात रखी थी कि हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद हुए 46 साल हो गए हैं । हरियाणा में सबसे बड़ा जो जिला हिसार है और वहां फतेहाबाद एक शहर है, जिसमें वहां अनेकों मंडियां हैं, ग्राम की मंडी है, टिम्बर की मंडी है, आदि । परन्तु इस फतेहाबाद में कोई भी छोटी या बड़ी रेलवे लाईन नहीं है । इस संबंध में मेरे क्वेश्चन के उत्तर में मंत्री जी ने बताया है कि "क्वेश्चन डज नोट एराइज" जब मैं यह सुनता हूं तो बड़ा हैरान हो जाता हूं कि उस शहर में 46 साल के बाद भी कोई रेलवे लाईन देने की, चलाने की अभी तक कोई चर्चा आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी नहीं है ।

मान्यवर, मैं आपको बताना चाहूंगा कि मैंने क्वेश्चन किया था कि हिसार से चंडीगढ़ जाने के लिए वहां से कोई सीधी रेलवे लाईन नहीं है, जिसका उत्तर मुझे मिला कि हिसार से धूरी जा सकते हैं और धूरी से पटियाला और फिर चंडीगढ़ जा सकते हैं । मैं हैरान हूं इस बात को सुनकर कि हम शाम को 8 बजे हिसार से चलते हैं और रात को धूरी पहुंचते हैं और फिर धूरी में रेल बदलते हैं और सुबह पटियाला पहुंचकर और फिर वहां रेल बदलकर हम चंडीगढ़ पहुंचते हैं । इस प्रकार मंत्री जी का यह उत्तर है कि आप चाहो धूरी और पटियाला होकर चंडीगढ़ जा सकते हैं । मैं चाहता हूं उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी इस बात को आगे पहुंचाया जाए । हिसार से दिल्ली का रास्ता 6-7 घंटे का है । मैंने प्रार्थना की थी कि हमारे उकलाना कस्बे से नरवाना को अगर बड़ी रेल लाईन से मिला दें तो सिर्फ 40 किलोमीटर है और उसके मिलने से हिसार का सीधा रास्ता चंडीगढ़ तक का हो सकता है । परन्तु मंत्री जी ने मेरे सवाल के उत्तर में बताया कि—क्वेश्चन डज नोट अराइज ।" उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि हमारी बातें मंत्री जी तक पहुंचाई जाएं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं एक बात और आपसे निवेदन करूंगा कि मैंने हिसार के टेलीफोन एक्सचेंज के लिए क्वेश्चन दिया था जो कि अन-स्टार्ड में आया था । मेरे खुद का टेलीफोन जो पार्लियामेन्ट की तरफ से लगा है जिसका नम्बर 73188 है, यह हफ्ते में पांच दिन खराब रहता है । कोई ठीक व्यवस्था वहां नहीं है । बार-बार क्वेश्चन लगाने के बाद भी यही उत्तर आता है कि टेलीफोन ठीक है ।

मान्यवर, मैं आपका ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा लेकिन मुझे बहुत थोड़ा समय दिया गया । मैं एक बात आपसे और कहूंगा कि कल पंजाब के मुख्यमंत्री ने एक बात बड़ी अच्छी कही कि हरियाणा हमारा छोटा भाई

है और हमें उनको पानी देना बहुत जरूरी है । यह बहुत अच्छी बात उन्होंने कही । मैं इसके लिए उनको मुबारकबाद देता हूं, धन्यवाद करता हूं कि उन्होंने अपने छोटे भाई की बात को याद रखा ।

मान्यवर, दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह कही कि फाजिल्का-अबोहर की बात छोड़कर, हम 77,000 एकड़ जमीन देंगे । यह हमारी आपके द्वारा प्रार्थना है कि यह हरियाणा के हितों का मामला है । जब तक फाजिल्का-अबोहर नहीं मिलेगा, चंडीगढ़ से हमें प्यार नहीं है लेकिन जब तक फाजिल्का-अबोहर नहीं मिलता, चंडीगढ़ जाने का सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता । यह हरियाणा की जनता का विचार है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Ramji Lal, please conclude because there are many speakers from the Congress side. You have to conclude now.

श्री रामजी लाल : मान्यवर, तो मैं ज्यादा समय न लेते हुए आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि मैंने जो बातें कही हैं उन पर विचार किया जाए ।

श्री मोहिन्दर सिंह कल्याण (पंजाब) वाईस चेयरमैन सर, आपसे दरख्वास्त है कि यह हरियाणा और पंजाब का मसला इस सदन में इस ढंग से नहीं उठाना चाहिए । इससे और समस्या पैदा हो सकती है ।

श्री बंधु प्रिय गौतम : यहां तो पूरे मुल्क की बात होनी चाहिए ।

श्री रामजी लाल : महोदय, 6 दिसम्बर को जो घटना हुई उसके बारे में पचौरी जी ने जो विचार व्यक्त किए हैं, उनका मैं समर्थन करता हूं कि हमारा देश धर्मनिरपेक्ष देश है और इसके अंदर इस प्रकार की कोई घटना नहीं होनी चाहिए ।

अंत में मैं महामहिम राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण के धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूं और आपने इस प्रस्ताव पर मुझे बोलने का जो मौका दिया उसके लिए आपका धन्यवाद करता हूं ।

SHRI N. GIRI PRASAD (Andhra Pradesh) : Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for the opportunity you have given me to speak on the President's Address. Though we know the President's Address is a policy statement of the Government, at the same time, as President, who symbolises the unity of India, he must be respected. When he was making his first Address to the Joint Session of Parliament, I felt very sorry that our BJP friends boycotted the Address. I think they may disagree with any policies of the Government; they are even eligible to continue their fight. That is a different matter. But one should not show disrespect to the President, especially when he is making his first speech before Parliament. Unfortunately, the President's speech also started in the same way and our House is also discussing it in the same manner; that is, the agenda set out by the main opposition party in the country, the BJP. Unfortunately, for the last three months or so, the country is facing not only economic, social and other issues but this campaign by the BJP to build *Hindu Rashtra* in place of a secular India, is causing a serious concern to all the countrymen. Not only that, I do not know how religion can mix up with politics. Religions may be there. They can fight for their own rights or for their own aspirations. That is a different thing. But since our country became independent, we have been following a Constitution based on secularism and no political party as such has a right to question this Constitution, especially on its fundamental values. If our country gives up the path of secularism, there will not be any unity in the country. You know our country consists of many religions and minorities also. In Kashmir, the Muslims are in majority. In Punjab the Sikhs are in majority. In the three States of North-East the Christians are in majority. How can you bring all these people and have a *Hindu rashtra*. It is highly impossible. If you want to maintain the unity of the country, that must be a secular country, not at all a religious country. So this *Hindu rashtra* is nothing but a Hindu theocratic State. If that is so, if the BP starts on this agenda, there will not be any peace in the country. That is the main reason. I am at a loss to know why the BJP has started on this agenda. When they say, they are not anti-Muslims, when they say they are secular, then why should they start this ? Now the people must believe in *Bharat rashtra*, not in *Hindu rashtra*. That should be our conception. That should be our aim. If there

is a dispute on a temple or a mosque, there are many ways to settle this problem. The BJP must also be aware of this fact. The National Integration Council some time back passed a unanimous resolution. At that time the BJP Members were also present. There were two options before the country—either to have a negotiated settlement on this dispute, a long-standing dispute, or to refer the matter to a judicial authority. When all parties can agree on this course, why should they divide the people on this long-standing dispute? It was there even before the BJP was born. My appeal to the BJP friends is this, even after all this loss due to the Ayodhya incident. In the aftermath of Ayodhya incident our country has paid very dearly. Not only 2,000 people have lost their lives but the trade also has come to a standstill, commerce has come to a grinding halt and people have migrated. Not only Muslims but even Hindus have suffered a lot. The people living in places like Bombay and Surat have fled to their own home-States, to Andhra Pradesh Orissa and even to U.P. You know all these things. Why should these people suffer for the sake of politics of one party and I think, the BJP, after all this loss to the nation, to the people, to the economy and to the social fabric and unity of the country, must realise and put a stop to this. It is high time, I believe; the BJP cannot any more play this type of politics to disrupt the unity of the country.

I have one more grievance against the Congress Government also. In this August House I personally heard—many other Members must also have been present—that the Prime Minister made a categorical statement in the month of July or so. After having his agreement with sadhus on this issue he made a statement. He came to the House after keeping silent for a week or so. After having negotiations with them he came out with a statement. In the statement, he said, "I will try to have a negotiated settlement with all these people If I fail, I will take steps to consolidate all the cases pending before the High Court and other courts and refer them to a single judicial authority and everybody should abide by that." That was the solemn statement made by the Prime Minister in this House and also in the other House. What happened now ? Did the Prime Minister do this ? When the BJP boycotted the National Integration Council for the second time, when they openly started the course of performing *kar sewa*, when Advani also went on a campaign to places in U.P. and other States, what was the Government doing ? I am not just criticising why they did not take action before December 6. The first presumption, I thought was when they knew that the BJP was not going to abide by any agreement and their followers wanted to do some thing harmful at Ayodhya on that particular day, when the Government knew all these things...

When the discussions were going on between the two parties in the presence of the Government, when one side unilaterally declared a *kar seva* without showing any responsibility to participate in the negotiations, was it not the duty of the Government then itself to compile all these cases and refer it to the judicial authority ? What prevented the Prime Minister from doing that ? He was dilly-dallying. He was in correspondence with the U.P. Chief Minister. What were they talking ? We don't know. All the correspondence was there. The Prime Minister did not implement, carry out, his own promise made to the House. When he knew that there was no possibility of arriving at an agreement, he should have referred all these matters to a judicial authority and the Government, the people and the political parties were expected to abide by that. Even the BJP would have been put on the defensive and they should have also thought twice before undertaking that catastrophic action. I cannot go into all those things within the short span of time. Recently, yesterday or today, I read a news item wherein Atal Behari Vajpayee said that when this matter need not be and could not be settled in the court—many people might have agreed earlier, whatever judgment might come—there should be an attempt to resume the talk between the parties to have an amicable settlement. As far as the statement or the sentiment goes to solve the dispute, I fully support that. That is the reality before us. Our people want an amicable settlement. Nobody

wants a quarrel on a temple or a mosque. We are not bothered about if there was a temple or if there was a mosque. Everything may require to be solved. That is a different matter. What is the follow-up action If the BJP really believes in what Atal Behari Vajpayee has said, they should support him. But there are equivocal statements by the BJP. I am sorry to say that even now the BJP could agree to that suggestion. There are some sentiments from the Muslim side also. Some senior citizens espacially one Maulana Wahiduddin Khan from Bombay, made some suggestions for resolving this dispute. Some time back Shahabuddin Sahib also wrote some letters to the Prime Minister. There is a serious concern among people how to solve this problem. Whatever the Government might have done under article 143 is a different matter. Whatever may be the position, I think, the political parties especially the BJP which has started this political game of temple issue, should take initiative and try to have an amicable settlement. You cannot humiliate 12% of the people. It is not that some masonry construction was demolished there. You have demolished the self-respect and honour of a particular community. That is highly reprehensible. That is why not only the people of India but the people of all over the world and many Governments also felt sorry that a big country like India, having a democratic system and having a secular constitution, is following such a course under the leadership of the main Opposition Party of the country. I say, this is not the best way to come to power. Even if the BJP comes to power, it cannot rule the country like this. It cannot have friends abroad. It cannot remain isolated from the world community. I appeal to my BJP friends even now to stop using religion for the sake of political power and refrain from undertaking any adventuristic actions on this cause and try for an amicable settlement, whatever may be the cases pending before the court. Lastly, on this question I would like to know what attempt the Government is making or what the Government's aim is in referring this matter to the Supreme Court under article 143. What purpose does it really serve? Naturally, it may lead to the opening of the Pandora's box. If you accept this analogy that you can refer a dispute, whether a temple existed under the debris of the mosque some 400 or 500 years ago, to a court, the same question may be asked with regard to any other thing. The same Parliament passed a law not to reopen any religious question, any dispute regarding any place of worship and that all those things must be accepted as they were in 1947. When that was the position, why did the Government refer this particular dispute to the Supreme Court for the same cause, to know whether there was any temple? There might have been a temple or might not have been a temple. That is not our concern. But is it the best way to solve this problem? I don't know whether the Supreme Court also will be in a position to deliver any opinion on this question. First of all, there also the Supreme Court wants to know whether the countrymen, all political parties, all religious saints will abide by the opinion of the Supreme Court, if they deliver an opinion. I think, they themselves are not very sure. That is why, they are still considering the question.

As far as the Kashmir problem is concerned, this problem is also a creation of the ruling party. This problem is not created by Pakistan alone. Pakistan naturally wants to utilise all the problems in Kashmir and wants to snatch away Kashmir from India. That was their original game and they also conducted two or three wars against India. We all know that. But the main cause for this Kashmir trouble, according to my understanding is, the Congress Government at the Centre killed democracy there. They never bothered to conduct proper elections. They rigged the elections many times. Uultimately, when they lost, they dismissed the National Conference Government which was the ruling party at that time. They not only dismissed the National Conference Government but also when they wanted to put Mr. Farooq Abdullah in power they wanted political unity with him. The Congress party wanted to share ministerial berths under the leadership of Mr. Farooq Abdullah. Then what happened? These two secular parties, the Congress party and the National Conference had become one party and militants, terrorists and other pro-Pakistani

elements become another party. So, when there is a polarisation between the secular parties on the one side and religious fundamentalist forces on the other side, naturally the scales titled on the other side, that too in the background of democracy having been butchered Kashmir. Now Pakistan is also playing its dirty game. Pakistan is not only helping the terrorists in Punjab and Kashmir but they are also doing the same thing in other places. They have sent a large quantity of arms to many parts of our country. I came to know all these things in this House also. They have sent huge quantities of arms to places like Ahmedabad, Kerala and many other places. Why has the Government of India kept silent on such matters. Their reaction was weak.

In this background our security forces are doing a very difficult task there. There might have been some excesses here and there. They can be looked into. But the main thing is the Kashmiri people must be won over to our side by reviving all administrative political and also developmental activities. Unless you win over the hearts and minds of the Kashmiri people, you will not be able to solve this problem. You must see that the Pakistani game is thoroughly exposed before the world community.

There is one silver lining in the whole situation, in the background of Ayodhya, Kashmir and many other things; that is the situation in Punjab. It is really a very happy turn. The people of Punjab belonging to secular parties and secular opinion stood against the terrorists and the terrorists have been issolated. Not only have they been eliminated but they have been isolated from the people. The democratic process has started there. People have participated in good numbers in the Panchayati elections. Whatever party may have won the elections, that is a different matter. But the people of Punjab, irrespective of their religious differences—the Sikhs, the Hindus and others —they have all come together and stood for the unity of the country. They participated in the democratic process and that is heartening to all the politicial parties and the people of this country.

I had been to some places in the North-East recently. There is discontent in that part of the country and that is one of the reasons for the insurgency in some of the places like Nagaland and other places. I think the Central Government neglected these areas for many, many years. The one good thing that appears in the President's Address is that now they want to develop the North-East States. I think the issues that they have mentioned are not very important. Even the Finance Minister made one or two suggestions. He has exempted these States from Corporate taxes and other taxes. But that is a very small thing. They should make a concerted effort to develop this part of the country so that the unity of the country is maintained at all levels.

We heard just now my friend, Mr. Madhavan. You should not leave scope for such feelings. I think Government must be very careful. They must implement whatever Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had assured the people of the Southern States and especially the people of Tamil Nadu.

There should not be any dilly-dallying on that. There should not be any deceptive action taken so as to somehow or other smuggle Hindi into Tamil Nadu. Now about Tripura also I would like to say something. The Tripura elections are not being held properly. They talk of electoral reforms. What is it ? The Government is using political power to win elections in that State. A Central Minister is involved in this. Why is the Government silent ? Why is the Prime Minister silent ? Two things need to be done to restore the faith of the people in the democratic process. It is not a question of one party winning and another party losing the elections. Two things had been highlighted yesterday. One is imposition of President's rule in Tripura and the second is dismissal of the Central Minister.

I would not like to say anything about the economy. But I would like to say one thing and that is, we are in a very gloomy situation. Last year also it was the same and this year also we are in a gloomy situation. Unemployment is increasing. Prices are increasing. You may say there

is some relief on the inflationary front. A decrease in the inflationary rate does not mean reduction in prices. It is a false hope that you are giving to the people. People are being told that the prices are coming down. The prices increased by 30 to 35 per cent during the last two years. now add this increase of seven per cent to that 30 per cent. So the prices have increased. That is the situation. The propaganda made by the Government is entirely self-contradicting. People do not believe it. Even now Government has increased the administered prices of sugar and so many other things. Naturally,, People are suffering due to increase in prices.

The last point is, for improving this economy also, the Government must come forward and it should have a proper discussion. As far as I know, there is no discussion on this Eighth Five Year Plan—if I am correct—and there are many issues that are agitating the people. Now, the peasants have come to Delhi. They are agitated with the Dunkel Draft and there was no opportunity for Parliament to discuss the Dunkel Report. Why are the peasants afraid? Actually, the agricultural prices are going down. Whereas the manufacturing prices are going up, the prices of the agricultural commodities are going down. The balance of trade has shifted against the agricultural commodities; that has happened this year. And the President and the Government are very complacent on this matter. That is why all over this country, in our State also, the peasants are agitated. That is why I request the Government to consider the problems of the peasants in a serious manner and attend to them in a forthright way so that the discontent is removed. Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Shri David Ledger. Kindly conclude in 10 minutes because there are eight to nine speakers left from the Congress party.

SHRI DAVID LEDGER (Assam) : I will try, Sir.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the maiden Address of the President, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, assumes a great significance because it has come at a time when this country is facing a crisis of a very grave nature in the aftermath of the tragedy which took place in Ayodhya on the 6th of December last year. Sir, the Address assumes added importance because it has come at a time when the country is engulfed by communal tension of a magnitude which was never witnessed before, because it comes at a time when some political parties and non-political organisations are attempting to capitalise on the gullibility of the vast masses of the illeterate population of this country and derive political mileage by exploiting their religious sentiments. Sir, the President's Address assumes a very special significance in view of the fact that it has come at a time when the cherished values of this ancient land are facing the greatest challenge ever, because it has come at a time when the secular credentials of this country are at stake. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, to say that the BJP and the *Sangh Parivar* have done a great disservice to this nation, to say that what they have done amounts to the betrayal of the nation, is only to state the obvious. Sir, it was for the whole country to see, as a matter of fact, it was for the whole world to see how the country was being hijacked by these people. The entire country was misled. The Parliament was misled. Sir, even the Supreme Court was taken for a ride. False affidavits were sworn and filed in the Supreme Court by no less a person than the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. Commitments were dishonoured. Assurances were violated. This has never happened in our country before this. Sir, there was yet another attempt to disrupt the communal harmony in the country and that attempt was sought to be made on the 25th of February by holding a rally in Delhi. It was another matter that the people of this country refused to cooperate with them and frustrated their design. And for this, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the people of this country, specially the people of Delhi, for frustrating their evil design, and also the Government of India for taking a very firm stand to see that the law and order situation was kept under control.

Sir, this country was first amputated in 1947 as a result of one man's obsession and that was Mohammed Ali Jinnah whose obsession was the creation of a Muslim nation. May I remind the BJP and their friends in the *Sangh Parivar* that the people of India will never allow another bifurcation, another amputation of this country. To oblige somebody, to suit the interests of somebody whose singular obsession is the creation of a Hindu India or a Hindu nation, it will not happen. Such a thing will never happen in this country. This is anathema to the secular ethos of our country.

As an Indian, I am proud to say that this country has survived the supreme test and I am confident that it will overcome the challenges which are being thrown at it by the forces of fundamentalism and obscurantism. There are still enough sensible people in this country who believe in the secular values as enshrined in our noble Constitution.

Sir, the President's Address has made a reference to Punjab, Kashmir and Assam. During the last year, there has been a remarkable improvement in Punjab and Assam. In Punjab, after a long spell of terror and uncertainty, peace seems to be returning and the State seems to be limping back to normalcy. Today, the terrorists in the State are on the run, a large number of them have surrendered their arms, a number of top militants have been shot dead in encounters by the police and the security forces and for the first time in a number of years, the police is acting like a cohesive and motivated force and they have been able to establish its authority. Municipal elections have been held and Panchayat elections were held in January this year and people in large numbers had participated in these elections. These elections, may I say, have fully revived the democratic process in the State of Punjab and people's confidence has been restored once again. This, by no means, is a very small achievement and for these things, the State Government of Punjab headed by Sardar Beant Singh, the people of Punjab and the police and the security forces deserve to be congratulated.

In Assam too, we have been noticing a massive improvement in the situation. After the installation of a popular Government in June, 1991 under the leadership of Shri Hiteshwar Saikia, the situation in Assam has taken a dramatic turn towards good. Today, we find that more than 3,000 ULFA militants have surrendered. They have laid down their arms. They are being rehabilitated. The Planning Commission has made a special provision of more than Rs. 100 crores for the rehabilitation of these misguided youth and the State Government is also making a massive rehabilitation programme. Necessary incentive and training are being given to attract them, specially towards small-scale industrial sector and other means of livelihood.

Sir, the greatest achievement of the Government of Assam is the solution to the Bodo problem which took place in the month of February this year. A Memorandum of Settlement has been signed and a Bodoland Autonomous Council is provided for the Bodos who have been agitating for a separate homeland for a number of years. This Memorandum of Settlement provides for a 40-member Council out of which 35 will be elected from amongst the Bodos and 5 will be nominated by the Governor of Assam for the representation of those who do not find representation in the Council. The total area consists of 2000 villages and 25 gardens. The people who were arrested in connection with the agitation had been released.

The three MLAs who were arrested have been released and I am glad to say that on the 7th of this month, a large number of the ABSU and BPAC men who had arms with them are going to surrender their arms to the State Government. This is going to happen on the 7th of March. May I also take this opportunity to say that a special provision has been made in the Memorandum of Settlement for the protection of the non-Bodos who are residing and will be residing in the areas of the Bodoland Autinomous Council ? I am fully confident that the Bodoland Autonomous Council will be able to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the Bodo people and will be a major step for their rapid socio-economic progress.

5.00 P.M.

Sir, I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Government of India, especially the Minister of State for Home Affairs. Mr. Rajesh Pilot, the State Government, especially the Chief Minister of Assam, Shri Hiteshwer Saikia for displaying political will to solve this long-standing problem and also the leaders of the All-Bodo Students Union and the Bodo People's Action Committee for displaying political maturity in signing this Memorandum of Settlement.

Sir, it is gratifying to note that the entire North-East today is moving towards an era of political stability. We all know that the Assembly elections were recently held in Meghalaya and Nagaland and the results demonstrate once again that the people of these two States have expressed their support to and faith and confidence in the Congress (I) Party. I believe that these election results are a reflection of the emerging political scenario, not only in these two States, but also in the entire North-East. May I say that it is an indication, it is a sign, of the consolidation of the Congress (I) Party's position in these States of the country? I would like to term the vote for the Congress (I) in these two States as a vote for peace, stability and progress as also a vote for democracy and secularism... (Time Bell)... Sir, I would touch upon only one or two points more and then I will finish.

In this connection, I may also mention that in these elections, the regional parties have been totally rejected by the people, not to mention the fate of the other parties, the other all-India parties.

Sir, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir has been a matter of grave concern for all of us for a number of years. Efforts are being made to restore and to revive the political process and a multi-party Committee has been set up and this Committee has visited the Valley. We all know the role which Pakistan is playing and the only way out for the Government today is to make use of its diplomatic channels and also to make use of the various interna-

Sir, in the rural area of Andhra Pradesh

Before I end, Sir I would just like to touch upon the point relating to our achievements on the economic front made during the last year. In the last two years, the Government has made remarkable achievements on the economic front. When the new Government came to power in 1991, the economy of the country was in a shambles and we all know that. India's credibility abroad had come down as it had never come down before. The foreign exchange reserves were at their lowest and after the initial period of crisis management, the country's economy has now been brought back to its rails. What is remarkable is that all this has been achieved in less than two years. Then, investments have improved, exports have gone up and the foreign exchange position has improved satisfactorily—it has gone up to US $ 5 billion—and there has been a remarkable improvement in the GDP. Further, inflation has been brought down almost from 17 per cent to less than seven per cent and this, indeed, is a remarkable achievement. The Finance Minister has fulfilled his commitments to the people of this country and he definitely deserves to be congratulated. There is a visible increase in the industrial production and the growth rate in the small-scale sector has gone up to a very great extent and it is necessary to keep up this growth rate because the small-scale sector has the maximum potential for employment generation.

Sir, in the interest of the country, this process of economic reform, economic liberalisation must continue, and necessary incentives must continue to be provided for a faster industrial growth.

Sir, with these words, I support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Dr. Sivaji. Your Party's time is 20 minutes.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, the Presidential Address of this year is missing many major problems that are facing the country. And the Government is not serious on any front to solve the problems that are in existence.

Sir, in the rural area of Andhra Pradesh

as well as Tamil Nadu, there is a story which goes like this : In the earlier days, there used to be child marriages and early childhood marriages. In one of the villages, a girl child by name Kamamma, aged about ten years, was married to a boy who was about 15 years or, 16 years old. And as he found that the bride was too young, the bridegroom went on a pilgrimage for about 5 years or 6 years. The womenfolk of the village, for want of protected water, were collecting drinking water from the village tank. Suddenly, after five or six years, a man aged about 20 years descended on the village and the women collecting the water thought that the boy was the husband of the bride by name Kamamma. So, everybody thought that the boy was the real husband of Kamamma. And he was brought to Kamamma's house and they enquired from her whether this boy was her husband or not. And the girl also did not know whether this boy was her husband or not. And at last she was happy that some 'husband' came back. Then the barber was called and his hair was cut into shape and he had some oil-bath and this and that. He was offered some new clothes and he was designated as the husband of Kamamma. That person was there for a couple of years. After two years, the same womenfolk collecting water from the same village tank got some suspicion whether this man was the real husband of Kamamma or not. So, they decided to enquire from the man. They went and asked him, "Are you the real husband of Kamamma or not ?" And straight came the reply : "You yourself designated me as the husband of Kamamma. And after two years, you are claiming that I am not the real husband of Kamamma. If you feel so, you please return my umbrella and chappals and I will go back on a pilgrimage."

Sir, this story aptly suits the present Government. About two years back, the present Prime Minister, having found that he was not fit to context for a Lok Sabha poll for want of health and for want of energy and other things, opted out, not to run for an election. Suddenly, with the sad demise of Rajivji, he was called to occupy the chair of the AICC President and then for want of any other thing, he was designated as the Prime Minister. And the same womenfolk, like Salveji or Pawarji or whoever it is, if they feel that he is not the real husband, they will just ask him to get out saying, "you are not the real husband" as in the story of Kamamma. And the only answer from the Prime Minister is, "If you feel that I am not the real husband, you better get back my 'Veyipadagalu' book so that I can translate it into other languages. I translated it into Hindi and I can translate it into other languages. You get back my 'Veyipadagalu' book as well as my umbrella, chappals and 'kamandalam', and I will go back."

So, Sir, the Government is not serious to solve any problem. They are complacent on every problem. Sir, it is a fact that for the last 20 months, in spite of reforms and other things, the gap in the income between the urban area and the rural area is going up. And as mentioned by Mr. Giri Prasad, all the farming community as well as the agricultural labour in the rural areas throughout the country are restive. There is a big disparity between the price of the inputs and the price of the outputs, and the Government in its wisdom hiked the prices of the inputs, either as administered prices or by deregulation. The prices of the inputs were hiked in case of fertilizers, pesticides, diesel and electricity. The Finance Minister has been claiming day in and day out that due to their efforts to contain inflation, prices will come down. But only the agricultural prices were reduced compared to last year. Take the case of foodgrains or cardamom or tobacco or chillis or other items. Prices of all agricultural commodities are low compared to last year, whereas the prices of inputs are going up day by day. So it is at the cost of the rural sector which constitutes 72 per cent of the population and which is giving livelihood to more than three-fourths of the population, that the Government claims that they are successfully controlling inflation. But this is a conspiracy which is going on to transfer rural wealth to urban area and transfer agricultural wealth to non-agricultural sector.

We have been a witness to what has happened during the last 20 months. An unprecendented scam took place involving

thousands of crores of rupees and everybody in the Government, from top to bottom—I need not mention the names—seems to be involved. I do not know how many more are going to be affected. So, there is a conspiracy to transfer rural wealth to urban area and agriculturl wealth to non-agricultural sector. This is a dangerous signal which will result in agricultural production going down. Even during the period when the country faced severe drought consecutively for three years during the eighties, we did not resort to import of the foodgrains. But thanks to this Government and its policies; we are now compelled to go back to PL-480 days. We are compelled to import wheat. It was mentioned in the President's Address that we import wheat to contain the prices. But at what price do we import it? We pay double the amount that we pay to our own farmers. Our farmers get just the half of what we pay to their counterparts in other countries. Thus, it seems, we import wheat only to teach a lesson to the farming community and to penalise them.

Then, there is attempt at destabilisation at every stage. During the past 20 months, they have tried to destabilise other Opposition parties. They successfully divided Telugu Desam, then AGP and then Janata Dal, and now they are turning towards every Chief Minister of every State to destabilise their Governments. Take for example Andhra Pradesh, then Karnataka and the latest is Maharashtra. People from Delhi are sent to the States to lead the Legislative parties....

SHRI B. K. HARIPRASAD: What about Karnataka?

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: It will follow suit. It is only a question of time. Either Mr. Jaffer Sharief of Mr. Shankaranand, whoever is not desirable here, would be asked to do there and lead the party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Sivaji, You may not indulge in this duel.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Not satisfied with destabilising non-Congress parties they want to destabilise their own party. Sir, the Prime Minister, when he was the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh during 1972, could not run the Government for more than 20 months or so. We find the circle complete. During 1973, President's rule was imposed in Andhra Pradesh and the Assembly was not dissolved but was kept under suspended animation for one complete year, and after one year, Mr. Vengal Rao was nominated as the leader of the Congress Legislative Party. So, after twenty years, the same thing will happen here. For a person who could not run a State Government for more than twenty months or so, it is too long a time at the Centre, in Delhi. It is too long a time for him to run the Government here. It appears to me so.

During the last one year, many a time mention was made about the reforms. Many a time mention was made about the Narsimham Committee, the Abid Hussain Committee and the Raja Chellaiah Committee. But precious little has been done to implement the recommendations of these Committees. Even in the Budget speech, the Finance Minister deferred the implementation of the recommendations of the Raja Chellaiah Committee on tax reforms. He said that he would do it next year. If at all he presents the Budget!

The same is the case in regard to the recommendations of the Abid Hussain Committee It is a fact that the Abid Hussain Committee submitted its report a long time back, in relation to the cotton policy, in relation to the textile policy. But nothing has been done in regard to the textile policy. At the same time, more reliefs are being offered in every Budget in the case of artificial fibre at the cost of both the cotton growers and the handloom weavers. If such things are allowed to continue, I do not think we can deliver the goods.

It is also mentioned in the President's Address that the price of sugarcane has been raised from Rs. 26 per quintal to Rs. 31 per quintal. On the other hand, the President's Address conspicuously and conveniently omits to mention the enhancement in the issue price of levy sugar. The issue price of levy sugar was raised from Rs. 6.90 per kg. to Rs. 8.30 per kg. Though they have given so much relief to

the sugar industry, not even half of it, not even thirty per cent of it, is percolating to the growers. Also, the minimum support price was increased only by Rs. 50 per tonne.

As per the sugar policy, the levy sugar quota has been reduced from 45 to 40 per cent. The free sale quota has been increased from 55 to 60 per cent. Therefore, they have given so much of relief to the industry at the cost of agriculture. This is what is going on.

It is said that the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and other schemes would solve the problems of the rural sector. This is not going to happen. Many a time they say that the Plan allocation for the rural sector and the agricultural sector has gone up by leaps and bounds. This is also not a fact. The rural sector is being given a go-by

The President's Address says that a lot of emphasis is given to research and development, to science and technology, space technology, ocean technology, etc. But the fact is otherwise. For example, from time immemorial, the bullock-cart has remained the same. We have not been in a position to improve the design of the bullock-cart. We have not been in a position to make innovations in the design of the bullock-cart. From time immemorial, it has remained the same. No innovation has taken place. There are two crore bullock-carts in the country. They are contributing so much in the field of transportation both in the rural and urban areas. Not only in the case of bullock-cart, in respect of the plough, the sickle and other agricultural implements also, no innovation has taken place, no research has taken place, no improvement has taken place, in spite of the huge expenditure on research, INSATs and other things. The agricultural sector is completely neglected.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal) : You can attach diesel engine to the bullock-cart.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI : No diesel engine. You are not in a position to understand that. You live in Calcutta. You will not be able to understand that. What we expect is that the bullock-cart can be improved with some ball-bearings. There can be some innovation in respect of the wheel. Instead of the wooden wheel, some tyre or tube can be incorporated so that the pressure on the bull as well as the farmer will be less and it will be easy to pull. It is not that a diesel engine is required for this. That is the communist way. That will not work in the agricultural field.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Now you pull your speech.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI : What I would like to suggest is that due emphasis should be given to agriculture, and the present system of penalising agriculture and the rural sector and improving industry at the cost of agriculture should not go on. What happened in China. ? Mr. Giri Prasad and some of our other friends also visited China. Since 1979 emphasis is being laid on the development of agriculture. It is a fact that in any part of the world the primary objective is development of agriculture. Only with the savings of agriculture does industry survive. But we are going the other way round. We are putting the cart before the horse. So, even if we develop industry, if the rural sector, the agriculture sector is not in a position to absorb its produce, to consume that, the industry will suffer, and its produce will not find any market whether you have a collaboration or do not have a collaboration, whether you go with multinationals or do not go with multinationals, whether you get the IMF fund or you get the World Bank fund. Whatever it is, these problems are not going to be solved. I hope the Government would address itself to these problems and try to solve these problems.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Thank you.

Mr. John F. Fernandes.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES (Goa) : Am I the last speaker of the day ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : No. We are sitting up to 6 o'clock today. Your time is only ten mintues.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES : I will speake for five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Five minutes. Thank you.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you for permitting me to participate in the debate. I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by your goodself on the President's Address to both Houses of Parliament.

Sir, our constitution in its very first article says :

"India, that is Bharat,..."

We have discarded the word, "Hnidustan." The best example for us to be secular is the experiment of the partition of India. We saw that our country was divided on religious grounds, and one segment or part of the country sought to bcome non-secular. We have seen the result of being non-secular. In 1971 we have seen that country again divided into two, and we have Bangladesh. The only thing that can hold this country together is secularism.

The boundaries of India are not the same as they were in 1947. Jammu and Kashmir annexed itself to us. In 1948 we got the State of Hyderabad. Then we got the State of Sikkim. This goes to prove that in future India will be a united and strong country as long as it remains a secular country.

Sir, what happened on the 6th of December is the blackest spot on the identity and on the integrity of our nation. The darkness at noon on the 6th of December last year will go to prove in history that it will be a parrallel to what happened prior to the Second World War in Germany. We know what Hitler did. Just to usurp power, Hitler set fire to parliament." He set, "Fire to Reichstag. He blamed the communities and took over power. The same thing is being repeated in our country by fundamentalists, by communal people because in their quest to usurp power they have become blind and they do not believe in democracy.

Sir, their leaders are professing that they had only seven seats in Parliament, but since they took to the slogans of communalism, fundamentalism and religious chauvinism, they got 117 seats in Parliament. That has made them blind. They want to see that the main fabric of our Constitution is attacked, and by all means, by hook or by crook they want to usurp power.

We know what happened to Pakistan, as I mentioned earlier. We also know what happened to the USSR. We know how that country has been divided into splinters. The only cementing factor for this nation to hold together is the spirit of secularism.

Again, Sir, there is in fighting within the BJP. There is dissenting activity within that Party. We saw their one leader taking out a *rath yatra* to build a temple. The dissenting leadership within that party again considered Article 370 as the most nauseating one and they took the *Ekta Yatra*. The slogan was 'to unite the country', but intentionally it was the main slogan to divide the country. I do not think they are not aware of the importatnce of Article 370. It is the main linking factor between Jammu and Kashmir and the Union of India. It is just like a ship holding to the ocean with an anchor. And if you snap the chain, the ship will go astray. The same thing will apply to Article 370. So my friends from the BJP are well aware that if we remove Article 370, they will go in for plebiscite. If they go back to plebiscite, you know what will happen in Jammu and Kashmir. We know how well Pakistan across the border is involved to fight the war of proxy against our own Union. The Article 370 is the silver lining in the mind of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are not the same as far as Pakistan is concerned. They do not have the intention to join that nation because they know the problem. They know what is happening in Sindh. There are human rights violations there.

In democracy the majority elects the Government and the rights of the majority are protected by that Government which they elect. The Constitution is only an element to protect the minorities, more smaller than the microscopic minorities. So, it is the duty of any Government to see that the minorities in that territory are protected.

Therefore, we have the Constitution. But we have seen during the crisis in Ayodhya how the Constitution was defiled how the Supreme Court, the apex court of this land was taken for a ride. How the decisions of the court were totally flouted and put to waste ? So, I feel that the secular forces—I do not say any religious forces—because of the fundamntalism, which is the smallest minority—are being fired by religious fanaticism ?

We again know that the problem in Jammu and Kashmir is flared from across the border. The other day I was reading some newspaper. It was reported in that paper that the CIA has documents, which they placed before the Senate Committee, to prove that the terrorist activities in our country and also across the border in Afghanistan are being funded by the miiltary regime in Pakistan. These funds are siphoned from the drug cartels. This is a most shocking thing that the most civilised society and regime in the world is adopting the most primitive methods of State terrorism in other countries to destabilise them. And the fundamentalist elements in our country are playing to their tune knowingly or unknowingly

Coming to the economic reforms, I think this Budget is the best Budget. If you compute, you will find that the rate of inflation has come down from 16.7 per cent to almost 7 per cent. I think it is a marvellous achievement. The President's Address has touched many more things. Since the Budget is already out, I think what the President has said in his Address has already been put into action. It is said that we are the largest sugar producing country in the world. It was also mentioned that we have the best public distribution system and that 26 lakh more ration cards are being given. That means the people in the villages, who were deprived of this facility till now, will get it.

Sir, It is high time the Government rises to the occasion and see that proper distribution is done. We say that we are the largest sugar producer in the world. But at the same time we have increased the sugar price. You know that sugar is exported just to get some foreign currency. I would request the Government to see that the prices of essential commodities which are being distributed through the public distribution system are sold at cheaper rates to the people who were deprived of it all these years. I would request the Government to augment the public distribution system. I have many more things to say but as you have already rung the bell, I will not do so. I again support the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) :Thank you, Shri G. G. Swell, Mr. Swell there are four Members from the United Parliamentary Group who want to speak. Therefore, you have to adjust your time keeping the interest of the other Members.

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Meghalaya) : That is what I was just going to say.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM : Mr. Swell was a candidate for the Presidential election. He is speaking on Presidential Address. How can he take less time ?

SHRI B. K. HARIPRASAD (Karnataka): You have supported him.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : Sir, this time should not be taken away from my time I am starting now

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am aware my time is limited. I am also aware that there are other colleagues of mine who would like to have a say. Therefore, I shall be very, very brief. I will refer only to a thing or two.

You are yourself aware that despite the ban on rallies, the farmers had a rally day before yesterday on the grounds near the Red Fort. The burden of their speeches, the burden of their worry that had brought as many as 50,000 farmers or more to Delhi was Dunkel. The Dunkel proposals are today before the next round of negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which most probably will accept the proposals. These proposals will be come the Dunkel text or the charter of the General Agreemnt on Tariffs and Trade.

Even this has percolated to the farmers. There is fear and ferment in the minds of the farmers in India. They have gone back with a stern warning to the Government : not to accept the Dunkel proposals. Their fear is that the patent laws under the trade-related intellectual property rights of GATT will extend to life forms and vegetable forms, that certain seeds and vegetable which are being patented in America or anywhere else in the world cannot be reproduced in India. The laws of the patents are going to change from process patents to product patents. Any particular product whether it is tomato or wheat or anything that has been patented before elsewhere cannot be reproduced in India by the farmers by any other process. This is their warning. I do not know how much of correct information has been passed on to the farmers, how many of them understand, how many of their own leaders understand GATT, understand, the state of the world today. There is no alternative to GATT. The alternative to GATT is trade war. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you are aware that a few months ago there was going to be a trade war between the two biggest trading communities, the European Community and the United States. That was the reason why they had delayed the agreement on GATT. But even they understand that this would be disastrous, disastrous to the Europeans, disastrous to the Americans. And, therefore, they came to a compromise. The whole controversy was on farm policy. Their compromise was that the European Economic Community, despite very strong and fierce opposition from the French farmers, had to agree, every year, to leave 15 per cent of its agricultural land fallow. And they have agreed not to produce oilseeds beyond a certain limit. It was then that a trade war was averted.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I can understand that the President's annual Address is a kind of progress report, a resume of what the Government has been doing. But if it is only that, it is a worthless document. There is nothing that the President has said is only that, it is a worthless document. People like us, not very intelligent, not reading too much, even we know. Not a word of what the President has said in his Address is unknown to us. A President's Address which is in the nature of a message to the nation should also be perceptive, should also give some indication as to the state of the nation; where we stand in relation not only to ourselves, in relation to the future, in relation to the whole world; and, in which direction we should move. In this context, I am deeply disappointed that the President's Address had not a word about the most portentous factor facing India today. We can solve our internal problems. I have no doubt that the BJP which is very much maligned has very much the interest of the nation at heart. I am sorry to say that there are Ministers of this Government who, when I was a candidate for the office of President, went around the Hindi areas and said, "Do not vote for Swell because he is a Christian and he eats beef.". Sir, I am not going into that. We can solve our problems. I have confidence in the people of India; I have confidence in the wisdom of the people of India even if I do not have any confidence in the wisdom of this Government. It can only make it a mess; I am an Indian and I know how I feel. I have the confidence that we can solve the problems that India is facing. I am sorry I do not see a word about GATT here. The Government today has to say whether we will be a part of GATT or not. Even China is going down on its knees and seeking the good offices of the United States of America to be admitted into GATT. We can stay out of GATT only on pain of going back to the middle ages. The world is moving fast. The world is one and the trade is one and the organisation that will regulate world trade is GATT.

Now, what does Dunkel say ? I do not want to go very much into that. Firstly, he says there should be no restriction to the entry of multinationals or any foreign company into any country. No restriction. There will be no difference between national companies and foreign companies. There will be no restriction on equity. There will be no restriction on area of operation. They can go to any area of operation, whether it is a consumer area or otherwise. You cannot say, "You will come to this area and not come to that area."

There will be no restriction on the inflow of capital, inflow of implements. There will be no obligation on the part of the foreign companies to use local products; there is no obligation on them for export; there will be no subsidies to the farmers except for export. You are reducing your fertilizer subsidy and many other subsidies under compulsion of the International Monetary Fund. Under GATT, subsidies will have to be given up altogether. You cannot give subsidies to the farmers except for export. There will be no subsidy on food except for nutrition and all your revamped Public Distribution System will go haywire. There is nothing there. And who will monitor what you are doing in this country Under GATT, under Dunkel, there will be a multilateral trade organisation in Geneva that will monitor what is being done in every country and if the multilateral trade organisation thinks that you are being discriminatory, you are being unnecessarily protective, it can authorise gross retaliation. I think we have not forgotten the Super-301 of America. One lady sitting in Washington, twisting her face and waving her finger, the Super-301 sends the chill down the spine of the entire Government of India because they can stop your exports to America, they can raise the tariff There will be no market for you. Most of our drugs, chemicals, fertilizers and so many other things are being produced under Patent at the moment in India. Maybe, our whole process will stop and we will have to pay royalty to those foreign companies who enjoy the Patent rights. You cannot compete with the multinationals even in the matter of food. They have got the resources; they have got the expertise. They have gone around the world and collected plant genes from all around the world.

They have been robbing the African countries, the Asian countries of various kinds of genes and developing a kind of a hybrid gene. You cannot compete with them the field of production. This is the world in which we living today. I am sad that the Government of India does not have this wisdom and they think that they are the wisest people on earth. I am sorry that the President of India did not have a word to say about it. It only shows our short-sightedness or clumsiness. Okay. I leave it at that

The next thing I would like to say is with regard to freedom, the right of information, the freedom of broadcast and information. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you are very well aware, as somebody has said, that I was a candidate for the office of President. If you had not entered into a conspiracy with a section of opposition, today, you would have had a President who would not be reading this kind of a speech. In my campaign, I knew, I would lose. But I wanted the people of India to see what kind of a man is going to be their President, his personality, his articulation, his knowledge and therefore, I had given an open challenge for a debate on the ... (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Swell, you have to speak on the President's Address. It cannot be an election speech. You will have to confine yourself to the President's Address

SHRI G. G. SWELL : Yes, Yes... (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : If you want to comment on that, you can comment on that. Don't go to the other aspects.

SHRI G. G. SWEL : If I were in America and other places where there were more T. V. channels, private channels, I would have gone on television on any other channel and you would have had to face me. But here, you have the monopoly and you cannot maintain this monopoly. I congratulate Dr. J. K. Jain of the BJP. I was told he has had a number of cassettes on what were the happenings in Ayodhya and, maybe, the happenings here with regard to the rally of the 25th. He has bought a transponder in ARABSAT and very soon the people of India are going to see in their homes what is going on—not only your version—the people of the world would see it. Therefore, if you want the people of India to be the real men in this world, men of courage, men of character, not the simpletons who go on genuflecting all the time, you should give the people of India the right of information. Mr. Vice-Chairman,

you are a typical Congressman. Anything outside which hurts you should not be spoken...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : No, no, no.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : But that is not going to stop, you are not going to stop the Satellite, you are not going to stop the T. V. Satellite. ...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Swell, when we sit in the Chair, there is no party consideration. Kindly withdraw that word that you have used.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : O.K. All right.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR : Please withdraw those words.

SHRI SANGA PRIYA GAUTAM : Pleased withdraw them.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : Since you sit in the Chair, I withdraw....(*Interruptions*)... Since you are sitting in the Chair, I withdraw. I withdraw. Since you are a non-party man when you sit in the Chair, I withdraw. I am sorry. I was a little annoyed because you tried to stop me when there were so many things I wanted to say. There are many things which he did not say and you want me to say only what he has said here. There is nothing in this document. There is nothing to be said in this document.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : That you are entitled to say.

SHRI G. G. SWELL : I am only saying about what has not been said in this document but should have been said in the interest of the nation. This document for me is worthless. I know everything even before the President presents this.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

श्री रफीक आलम (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसलिए किस्सा-ए-दर्द सुनाते हैं कि मजबूर हैं हम । इस भारत ने सारी दुनिया को अमन और शान्ति, भाईचारे, प्रेम और अहिंसा का पैगाम दिया था । आज उस भारत में जो कुछ भी हो रहा है उससे हम लोगों का सिर शर्म से झुका हुआ है और हर भारतीय का सिर शर्म से झुका हुआ है अगर भारत माता का खून उसकी रगों में है । जो कुछ हुआ है और हो रहा है, धर्म के नाम पर भाई का गला भाई काट रहा है । मासूम, मजलूम और मजबूर औरतों का नंगा किया जाता है और मां-बाप, भाई-बहन, शौहर और आलाद के सामने उनके साथ बलात्कार किया जाता है और यहां नहीं, नंगा तस्वीर भी खींचा जाता है और वीडियो फिल्म तैयार की जाती है । क्या यही हमारी सभ्यता है ? क्या यही सीता और सावित्री का देश है ? क्या यही गांधी और गौतम का देश है ? हम मुल्क को कहां ले जा रहे हैं ? हाल ही में जो फसादात हुए, बबरता का नंगा नाच नाचा गया और यही नहीं इस बर्बरता में हमारी पुलिस ने भी साथ दिया, अफसोस इस बात का है । मैं उन हिन्दू भाइयों और बहिनों को मुबारकवाद देता हूं जिन्होंने अपनी जान की बाजी लगाकर मुसलमान भाई और बहिनों को बचाया । मैं उन मुसलमान भाई और बहिनों को भी मुबारकवाद देता हूं जिन्होंने अपने हिन्दू भाई और बहिनों की इज्जत बचाई । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं भाजपा के लीडरों से कि यह मुल्क मुश्किल से आजाद हुआ है । इस मुल्क को गुलाम बनाने की कोशिश मत करो । इस मुल्क में सिर्फ हिन्दू ही नहीं रहते । इस मुल्क में मुसलमान भी रहते हैं, सिख भी रहते हैं, इसाई भी रहते हैं, पारसी भी रहते हैं, बुद्धिस्ट भी रहते हैं । यह मुल्क सब का है । हमें

यह कहने में जरा भी झिझक नहीं कि इस मुल्क की आजादी में हमने बराबरी का हिस्सा लिया था शाना-बा-शाना, कदम-ब-कदम अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ लड़ाई हम सबने लड़ी थी । अशफाक उल्ला खां, सरदार भगत सिंह, राजगुरू और सुखदेव को साथ-साथ फांसी पर लटकाया गया था । क्या उनके खून में फर्क था ? क्या सरदार भगत सिंह का खून अलग है ? अशफाक उल्ला खां का खून अलग है ? सुखदेव और राजगुरू का खून अलग है ? फिर जब खून एक है, यह मुल्क एक है, कांस्टिट्यूशन एक है, तिरंगा झण्डा एक है फिर हिन्दुस्तान में नफरत के बीज क्यों बोए जा रहे हैं ? मैं भाजपा के लीडरों से पूछना चाहता हूं कि आखिर वे क्या चाहते हैं ? क्या इस मुल्क को वे तबाह करना चाहते हैं ? इस फसादात में लगभग, जैसा लोग कहते हैं, पेपर में आया है कि 17 हजार करोड़ रुपयों का नुकसान हुआ । एक-एक रुपए के लिए तो हम जापान, इंग्लैंड, फ्रांस, अमेरिका सब जगह जाते हैं । यह 17 हजार करोड़ रुपया किसका नुकसान हुआ ? पाकिस्तान का हुआ, श्रीलंका का हुआ, बंगलादेश का हुआ या भारत का हुआ ? इसका ये जवाब दें । ये लोग जो मारे गए वे कौन थे ? क्या वे भारत माता की संतान नहीं थे ? फिर क्यों मारा गया ? अफसोस की बात है कि हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग कहते हैं कि भाजपा को तो कांग्रेस ने बढ़ाया । कह सकते हैं । लेकिन अगर तारीख में जाइए तो कांग्रेस ने कभी भी भाजपा के साथ हाथ नहीं मिलाया कभी भी । 1977 में जनता पार्टी ने उनके साथ हाथ मिलाया ।

मौलाना अब्दुल्ला खान आजमी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आपने भी हाथ मिलाया है ।

श्री रफीक आलम : 1989 में जनता दल के कारण जहां वे लोकसभा में दो थे वे 86 हो गए । इसलिए इस हमाम में सब नंगे हैं । कोई यह नहीं कह सकता कि हमने नहीं किया । लेकिन अभी भी सोचिए कि आखिर इस देश का क्या होने जा रहा है । एक तरफ हमारी गुरूबत है, अफलास है, लगभग 36 मिलियन पीपुल 1991 में, अब हो सकता है कि 40 मिलियन हो गए हों, बेकार बैठे हुए हैं, बेरोजगार हैं । पढ़े-लिखे हैं, शिक्षित हैं लेकिन रोजी नहीं है । उनके बारे में ध्यान नहीं और मंदिर और मस्जिद का मामला खड़ा कर रहे हैं । देश किस तरफ जा रहा है ? एक तरफ सुपर पावर्स बैठी हुई हैं कि इस मुल्क को आगे मत बढ़ने दो । इस मुल्क की तारीख, इस मुल्क का इतिहास गवाह है कि यहां एक अकेले जयचंद ने इस मुल्क को गुलाम बनाया गया था । अगर फिर यह मुल्क गुलाम हुआ तो भाजपा अकेली इसके लिए जिम्मेदार होगी । इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से बहुत ही अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूं, भाजपा के लीडरों से कि और खून मत बहाओ, बहुत खून तुमने बहा लिया है । साथ के साथ आजादी की लड़ाई और इस मुल्क को आगे बढ़ाने में साथ-साथ कदम आगे बढ़ाओ वरना सुपर पावर बैठी हुई है । रूस का क्या हाल हुआ, यह उदाहरण हमारे सामने मौजूद है । इस मुल्क में घर का भेदी लंका ढाए ऐसा रोल अदा न करें । 6 दिसम्बर को जो वाकया हुआ यह सानें अजीम है । एक

आजाद और सेकूलर हिन्दुस्तान में मस्जिद टूटी । गुलाम हिन्दुस्तान में मस्जिद कायम रही । अंग्रेजों की दो सौ साल की गुलामी में मस्जिद कायम रही और सारी दुनिया को कहती रही कि कोई बाबरी मस्जिद अयोध्या की गोद में है । जहां हजारों मंदिर हैं वहां एक मस्जिद भी है । यह मस्जिद कह रही थी सारी दुनिया से कि भारत में जहां मन्दिर हैं वहां मस्जिद भी है, वहां गुरूद्वारे भी हैं, वहां गिरिजा घर भी हैं ।

यह फख्र और शान के साथ मस्जिद कह रही थी । उस मस्जिद को तोड़ कर आपने क्या पाया ? वर्ल्ड ने हम को धिक्कारा । जो हिन्दुस्तान आगे बढ़ रहा था, पूरी दुनिया को कह रहा था कि अमनोअमान कायम करो, आपस में मत लड़ो और खुद इन्दिरा जी ने यू. एन. ओ. में कहा था

"If no peace today, no life tomorrow."

आज हमारे मुल्क में क्या हो रहा है ? यह किसी एक का मुल्क नहीं है । यह 85 करोड़ जनता का मुल्क है । इसलिए कोई एक पार्टी अगर यह समझे कि सब बेवकूफ हैं और हम अक्लमंद हैं तो भूल जाइए । हिन्दुस्तान की जनता जागरूक है ।

In Ambrahm Lincoln's words :

"You can fool some people for some time; all the people for some time; but never all the people all the time."

मुझे बहुत अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि मस्जिद टूटी । ढाई लाख दहशतगर्दों ने मस्जिद को तोड़ा ।

Not a single shot was fired.

जब मुसलमानों ने सिर्फ एहतजाज किया क्योंकि उनकी मस्जिद टूटी थी तो पुलिस की गोलियों की बौछार, उधर संघ परिवार का यलगार, यह एक अजीब कैफियत थी । आखिर यह मुल्क कहां जाएगा ? क्या हम सब जल कर मर जाएंगे ? क्या यह मुल्क कायम रहेगा या नहीं रहेगा ? यह हर भारतीय सोच रहा था । आज हर भारतीय सोच रहा है कि जबकि दुनियां ने हमें धिक्कारा है, लोगों ने कहा--

The Indians are the nation of barbarians.

क्या हम लोग बारबेरियन हैं ? हम लोग मुल्क को कहां ले जा रहे हैं ? इसलिए राष्ट्रपति जी ने बहुत साफ कहा है । कोई माने या न माने, उन्होंने साफ कहा है--

"The basic premise of secularism and the rule of law has been threatened:"

सच्ची बात है । आखिर राष्ट्रपति जी ने क्यों ऐसा अपने अभिभाषण में कहा कि अगर मुल्क रहेगा तो सब रहेंगे । मुल्क नहीं रहेगा, अगर हमारा मुल्क गुलाम हुआ तो फिर सब गुलाम हो जाएंगे । मुल्क गुलाम हुआ तो यह नहीं होगा कि सिर्फ मुसलमान ही गुलाम होंगे, हिन्दू भाई भी गुलाम होंगे, इसाई भाई भी गुलाम होंगे, सभी गुलाम होंगे । यह मुल्क जो आपका है आप उसका नक्शा देखें । इसमें जहां कश्मीर है वहां पंजाब भी है, नार्थ ईस्टर्न स्टेट्स भी हैं । यह तो एक गुलदस्ता है । किसी चमन की खूबसूरती इस में है कि उसमें रंग-बिरंगे फूल खिले हों । अगर एक ही तरह के फूल हों, सिर्फ गुलाब हों, सिर्फ गेंदा ही हो तो उस चमन की खूबसूरती नहीं होती है लेकिन जहां गुलाब भी हों, गेंदा भी हो, जूही भी हो, रात की रानी भी हो तो उस चमन की खूबसूरती बढ़ जाती है । यह हिन्दुस्तान एक चमन है जहां हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख, ईसाई, पारसी और बुद्धिस्ट, यह जितने हैं, यह सब फूल हैं । इन फूलों को तोड़ने की कोशिश मत कीजिए । इस

बाग को बचाए रखिए क्योंकि हम गुलामी की जंजीरों से बहुत मुश्किल से निकले हैं। पंडित जी के शब्दों को मैं यहां कहना चाहता हूं । पंडित जी ने कहा था

"Freedom is in peril. Defend it with all your might."

आज वह वक्त आ गया है

Defend it with all your might.

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं राष्ट्रपति के एड्रेस पर जो मुबारकबाद का प्रस्ताव आया है, मैं मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूं और आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूं ।

شری رفیق عالم "بہار": آپ سمجھا دھیکش مہودے۔

"قصۂ درد سناتے ہیں کہ مجبور ہیں ہم"

اس بھارت نے ساری دنیا کو امن اور شانتی۔ بھائی چارے۔ پریم اور اہنسا کا پیغام دیا تھا۔ آج اس بھارت میں جو کچھ بھی ہو رہا ہے اس سے ہم لوگوں کا سر شرم سے جھکا ہوا ہے اور ہر بھارتیہ کا سر شرم سے جھکا ہوا ہے اگر بھارت کا خون اس کی رگوں میں ہے۔ جو کچھ ہوا ہے اور ہو رہا ہے۔ دھرم کے نام پر بھائی کا گلا بھائی کاٹ رہا ہے معصوم مظلوم اور مجبور عورتوں کو ننگا کیا جاتا ہے اور ماں باپ بھائی بہن شوہر اور اولاد کے سامنے انکے ساتھ بلاتکار کیا جاتا ہے اور یہی نہیں ننگی تصویریں بھی کھینچی جاتی ہیں اور ویڈیو فلم تیار کی جاتی ہے۔ کیا یہی ہماری سبھیتا ہے۔ کیا یہی سیتا اور ساوتری کا دیش ہے۔ کیا یہی گاندھی اور گوتم کا دیش ہے۔ ہم ملک کو کہاں لے جا رہے ہیں۔ حال ہی میں جو فسادات ہوئے بربریت کا ننگا ناچ ناچا گیا اور یہی نہیں اس بربریتا میں ہماری پولیس نے بھی ساتھ دیا۔ افسوس اس بات کا ہے۔ میں ان ہندو بھائیوں اور بہنوں کو مبارکباد دیتا ہوں جنہوں نے اپنی جان کی بازی لگا کر مسلمان بھائی اور بہنوں کو بچایا۔ میں اُن مسلمان بھائی اور بہنوں کو بھی مبارکباد دیتا ہوں جنہوں نے اپنے ہندو بھائی اور بہنوں کی عزت بچائی۔ میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں بھاجپا کے لیڈروں سے کہ یہ ملک بہت مشکل سے آزاد ہوا ہے۔ اس ملک کو غلام بنانے کی کوشش مت کرو۔ اس ملک میں صرف ہندو ہی نہیں رہتے ہیں اس ملک میں مسلمان بھی رہتے ہیں۔ سکھ بھی رہتے ہیں۔ عیسائی بھی رہتے ہیں۔ پارسی بھی رہتے ہیں بدھشت بھی رہتے ہیں۔ یہ ملک سب کا ہے۔ ہمیں یہ کہنے میں ذرا بھی جھجک نہیں کہ اس ملک کی آزادی میں ہم نے برابر کا حصہ لیا تھا۔ شانہ بہ شانہ۔ قدم بہ قدم انگریزوں کے خلاف لڑائی ہم سب نے لڑی تھی اشفاق اللہ خان سردار بھگت سنگھ۔ راج گورو اور سکھدیو کو پھانسی پر لٹکایا گیا تھا۔ کیا ان کے خون میں فرق تھا۔ کیا سردار بھگت سنگھ کا خون الگ ہے۔ اشفاق اللہ خان کا خون الگ ہے۔ سکھدیو اور راج گورو کا خون الگ ہے۔ پھر

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

اس لیے اس حمام میں سب ہی ننگے ہیں۔ کوئی یہ نہیں کہہ سکتا کہ ہم نے نہیں کیا۔ لیکن ابھی بھی سوچیئے کہ آخر اس دیش کا کیا ہونے جا رہا ہے۔ ایک طرف ہماری غربت ہے۔ افلاس ہے۔ لگ بھگ ۳۶ ملین لوگ ۱۹۹۱ میں۔ اب ہو سکتا ہے کہ ۴۰ ملین ہو گئے ہوں۔ بیکار بیٹھے ہوئے ہیں۔ بے روزگار ہیں۔ پڑھے لکھے ہیں تعلیم یافتہ ہیں لیکن روزی نہیں ملتی ہے۔ ان کے بارے میں دھیان نہیں اور مندر اور مسجد کا معاملہ کھڑا کر رہے ہیں۔ دیش کس طرف جا رہا ہے۔ ایک طرف سپر پاورس بیٹھی ہوئی ہیں کہ اس ملک کو آگے مت بڑھنے دو۔ اس ملک کی تاریخ۔ اس ملک کا اتہاس گواہ ہے کہ یہاں ایک اکیلے چنے نے اس ملک کو غلام بنایا تھا۔ اگر پھر یہ ملک غلام ہوا تو بھاجپا اکیلی اس کے لیے ذمہ دار ہوگی۔ اس لیے میں آپ کے مادھیم سے بہت ہی ادب کے ساتھ کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ بھاجپا کے لیڈروں سے کہ اور خون مت بہاؤ۔ بہت خون ہم نے بہا لیا ہے۔ ساتھ ساتھ آزادی قائم رکھنے کی لڑائی اور اس ملک کو آگے بڑھانے میں ساتھ ساتھ قدم آگے بڑھاؤ ورنہ سپر پاور بیٹھی ہوئی ہے۔ روس کا کیا حال ہوا۔ یہ مثال ہمارے سامنے موجود ہے۔ اس ملک میں گھر کا بھیدی لنکا ڈھائے ایسا رول ادا نہ کریں۔ ۶ دسمبر جب خون ایک ہے۔ یہ ملک ایک ہے۔ کانسٹی ٹیوشن ایک ہے ترنگا جھنڈا ایک ہے۔ پھر ہندوستان میں نفرت کے بیج کیوں بوئے جا رہے ہیں۔ میں بھاجپا کے لیڈروں سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آخر وہ کیا چاہتے ہیں۔ کیا اس ملک کو وہ تباہ کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ ان فسادات میں لگ بھگ جیسا لوگ کہتے ہیں پیپر میں آیا ہے کہ ۱۷ ہزار کروڑ روپیوں کا نقصان ہوا۔ ایک ایک روپیہ کیلئے تو ہم جاپان۔ انگلینڈ۔ فرانس امریکہ سب جگہ جاتے ہیں۔ یہ ۱۷ ہزار کروڑ روپیہ کا نقصان کس کا ہوا۔ پاکستان کا ہوا۔ شری لنکا کا ہوا۔ بنگلہ دیش کا ہوا یا بھارت کا ہوا۔ اس کا یہ جواب دیں۔ یہ لوگ جو مارے گئے وہ کون تھے۔ کیا وہ بھارت ماتا کی سنتان نہیں تھے۔ پھر کیوں مارا گیا۔ افسوس کی بات ہے کہ ہمارے ورودھی دل کے لوگ کہتے ہیں کہ بھاجپا کو تو کانگریس نے بڑھایا۔ کہہ سکتے ہیں لیکن اگر تاریخ میں جایئے تو کانگریس نے کبھی بھی بھاجپا کے ساتھ ہاتھ نہیں ملایا کبھی بھی۔ ۱۹۷۷ میں جنتا پارٹی نے ان کے ساتھ ہاتھ ملایا۔

مولانا عبیداللہ خان اعظمی: آپ نے بھی ہاتھ ملایا ہے۔

شری رفیق عالم: ۱۹۸۹ میں جنتا دل کے کارن جہاں وہ لوک سبھا میں دو تھے وہ ۸۶ ہو گئے

مجھے بہت افسوس کے ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ مسجد ٹوٹی۔ ڈھائی لاکھ دہشت گردوں نے مسجد کو توڑا۔

Not a single shot was fired.

جب مسلمانوں نے صرف احتجاج کیا کیونکہ انکی مسجد ٹوٹی تھی تو پولیس کی گولیوں کی بوچھار۔ ادھر سنگھ پریوار کی یلغار۔ یہ ایک عجیب کیفیت تھی۔ قیامت تھی۔ آخر یہ ملک کہاں جائے گا۔ کیا ہم سب جل کر مر جائیں گے۔ کیا یہ ملک قائم رہ سکتا یا نہیں رہ سکتا۔ ہر بھارتیہ سوچ رہا تھا۔ آج ہر بھارتیہ سوچ رہا ہے کہ جنکو دنیا نے ہمیں بربر کہا ہے۔ لوگوں نے کہا۔

The Indians are the nation of barbarians.

کیا ہم لوگ بار بیرین ہیں۔ ہم لوگ ملک کو کہاں لے جا رہے ہیں۔ اس لیے راشٹرپتی جی نے بہت صاف کہا ہے۔ کوئی مانے یا نہ مانے انھوں نے بہت صاف کہا ہے۔

"The basic promise of secularism and the rule of law has been threatened."

سچی بات ہے۔ آخر راشٹرپتی جی نے کیوں ایسا اپنے ابھی بھاشن میں کہا ہے کہ اگر ملک رہیگا تو سب رہیں گے۔ اگر ہمارا ملک غلام ہوا تو پھر سب غلام ہو جائیں گے۔ ملک غلام ہوا تو یہ نہیں ہوگا کہ صرف مسلمان ہی غلام ہونگے۔ سب ہی غلام ہوں گے۔ یہ ملک جو آپ کا ہے۔ کو جو واقعہ ہوا یہ سانحۂ عظیم ہے۔ ایک آزاد اور سیکولر ہندوستان میں مسجد ٹوٹی۔ غلام ہندوستان میں مسجد قائم رہی۔ انگریزوں کی دو سو سال کی غلامی میں مسجد قائم رہی اور ساری دنیا کو کہتی رہی کہ کوئی بابری مسجد ایودھیا کی گود میں ہے۔ جہاں ہزاروں مندر ہیں وہاں ایک مسجد بھی ہے۔ یہ مسجد کہہ رہی تھی ساری دنیا سے کہ بھارت میں جہاں مندر ہیں وہاں مسجد بھی ہے۔ وہاں گرودوارے بھی ہیں وہاں گرجا گھر بھی ہیں۔ یہ فخر اور شان کے ساتھ مسجد کہہ رہی تھی اس مسجد کو توڑ کر آپ نے کیا پایا۔ ورلڈ نے ہم کو دھتکارا۔ جو ہندوستان آگے بڑھ رہا تھا پوری دنیا کو کہہ رہا تھا کہ امن و امان قائم کرو۔ آپس میں مت لڑو اور خود اندرا جی نے یو۔ این۔ او میں کہا تھا

"If no peace today no life tomorrow."

آج ہمارے ملک میں کیا ہو رہا ہے۔ کیا کسی ایک کا ملک نہیں ہے۔ یہ ۸۵ کروڑ جنتا کا ملک ہے۔ اس لیے کوئی ایک پارٹی اگر یہ سمجھے کہ سب بیوقوف ہیں اور ہم عقلمند ہیں تو بھول جائیے۔ ہندوستان کی جنتا جمہوریت اور امن پسند ہے۔

In Abrahim Lincoln's words :

"You can fool some people for some time; all the people for some time, never all the people all the time."

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

آپ اس کا نقشہ دیکھیں۔ اس میں جہاں کشمیر ہے وہاں پنجاب بھی ہے۔ ناردھ ایسٹرن اسٹیٹس بھی ہیں۔ یہ تو ایک گلدستہ ہے۔ کسی چمن کی خوبصورتی اس میں ہے کہ اس میں رنگ برنگ کے پھول کھلے ہوں۔ اگر ایک ہی طرح کے پھول ہوں۔ صرف گلاب ہوں۔ صرف گیندا ہی تو اس چمن کی خوبصورتی نہیں ہوتی ہے۔ لیکن جہاں گلاب بھی ہو۔ گیندا بھی ہو۔ رات کی رانی بھی ہو تو اس چمن کی خوبصورتی بڑھ جاتی ہے۔ یہ ہندوستان ایک چمن ہے جہاں ہندو۔ مسلم۔ سکھ۔ عیسائی۔ پارسی اور بدھشٹ یہ جتنے ہیں یہ سب پھول ہیں ان پھولوں کو توڑنے کی کوشش مت کیجیے۔ اس باغ کو بچائے رکھئے کیونکہ ہم غلامی کی زنجیروں سے بہت مشکل سے نکلے ہیں۔ پنڈت جی کے شبدوں کو میں یہاں کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ پنڈت جی نے کہا تھا۔

"Freedom is in peril. Defend it with all your might."

آج وہ وقت آگیا ہے

Defend it with all your might.

ان شبدوں کے ساتھ میں راشٹرپتی کے ایڈریس پر جو مبارکباد کا پرستاؤ آیا ہے میں اس کا سمرتھن کرتا ہوں اور آپ کا شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں۔

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : इस समय 6 बज चके हैं इसलिए हाउस को एडजर्न कर दीजिए ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : We are going to sit up to 6 O'clock. Mr. Satish Pradhan, you have to speak. If you complete within five minutes then I will allow you.

SHRI SATISH PRADHAN (Maharashtra) : Sir, I will conclude within 10 minutes.

*Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to express my views. This was a golden time in my life for it was the first time that I could listen to such an Address. But I did feel that there were some inconsistencies in the speech while I listened to it. Since you have given me a chance to speak, I take this oportunity to point out what I feel are the inconsistencies in the speech. Para 11 of the speech mentions about *National Textiles Corporation* (*NTC*) Limited. But it is unfortunate that the Presidential address made no mention of the thousands of mill workers in Bombay having been rendered jobless. The government had assured time and again to rehabitate the workers of such textile units that have been closed down. But nothing has been done in this regard inspite of the repeated assurances from the government.

I feel the unions of such mills should have been given an opportunity to run the mills in keeping with the assurances of the government. On the contrary, the poor workers are being entangled in the trap of rules and regulations instead of extending any direct benefit to them despite repeated promises by the government on several occasions in the past. No such units that could absorb the jobless workers have been set up by the government so far. Nor there seem to be any possibility of such an effort in near future.

It is, in light of these glaring inconsistencies, I call upon the government to do something urgently in this regard. Keeping

*English translation of the original speech delivered in Marathi language.

this in view, I also wish to raise another issue and I urge upon the Hon'ble Minister of Textiles to take this seriously .

The workers in the private sector have not been given the benefit of pension. If benefit of pension is given to the employees in the private sector, this will benefit innumberable workers in the private sector. I tried to raise a question, on *Small Scale Industries* (*SSI*) this morning but I was not given a chance to speak. I wish to raise the same question now. The small scale industries are being established in many parts in Maharashtra State. Many such units are functioning in unauthorised premises. Some of these have been in existence for the past 20 years or so but they have not been given any registration so far. Such units have not been able to achieve their full capacity. It is this which I wish to bring to your kind notice.

Many speakers have expressed their views on the problems of the farmers. The government has extended loan facility for purchase of tempos to farmers to enable them to transport their produce to market places but their produce hardly reaches the market at right time. Moreover loans for purchase of tempos are seldom utilized in the right earnest. Once the farmers reach the market with their produce, they are told by the marketing co-operative that purchase of farm goods has been stoped. As a consequence the poor farmer has to resort to distress sell of his produce to the brokers who buy it at a price which is much below the market price. In such a situation the poor farmer is not in a position to take back his goods and has to dispose off his produce at whatever price offered by the brokers. It has been observed in Maharashtra that the farmer who grows sugar-cane has to face difficulty in selling his cane to the co-operative sugar factories. Many co-operative sugar factories discriminate between farmers belonging to a particular group or lobby in matters of purchase of sugar cane. As a result of such unfair practices many sugar cane growers have to suffer great loss in selling their produce.

This is to be noted that the sugar-cane growers do not get the remunerative price due to discriminatory and unfair practices resorted to by sugar factories to sub-serve their vested interests.

I have also found out after enquiry that the land is rendered in fertile due to use of chemical fertilizers over long periods. There are vast streches of such land in Maharashtra which is laying barren now as a consequence of indiscriminate use of chemical fertilizers. There is need to investigate and conduct research so that such barren lands could be made fertile and put to cultivation.

To ensure that production of silk is increased and a definite action plan is put in action, I am sorry to point out that the government has not come out with any such plan that would take care of this neglected area.

I want to know whether all those people who have been given ration cards in cities of Delhi and Bombay citizens of India ? Are there not many Bangladeshies among such beneficiaries ? All those ration card holders who have been provided foodgrains under Public Distribution System have not been differentiated into citizens of India or otherwise. There are no figures available to us as to the number of Bangladeshies being fed at cheaper rates under PDS in the country.

I feel that two specific issues deserve to be brought to the notice of the government as regard the Presidential Address.

The first is the issue of disputes and indifferences among many States in our country. Due to these disputes, no developmental activities take place and Maharashtra is one such State that has suffered on account of this malaise. There is no mention in the Presidential Address as to how the Government propose to take the inter-state disputes. I would have felt very happy if this subject was included in the Address.

The topic of our poor performance at Barcelona Olympics was discussed in this House but the Presidential Address is conspicuous in its total neglect of this subject. Since none of the speakers has touched on this subject of sports, I feel this need to hold nationwide debates in this regard.

Because of the time constraint, I now come to one of the most important issues confronting the nation. This is Ayodhya episode. I wish to speak on some of the aspects of the incident that took place at Ayodhya on December 6 last and the consequent loss suffered all over the country.

May speakers have already expressed their views on this subject and I wish to take up the matter before the House whatever has come to my observation.

The most important point I wish to raise is that let us coolly consider why at all this incident took place in the first place! It is my personal experience that many Muslims offer Namaj on streets and roads in Bombay. When such people offer Namaj in public places, traffic is obstructed and much inconvenience is caused to public at large. Still the government maintains a strange silence even though it is very much an open secret. As much inconvenience is caused to general public due to use of load speakers at Masjids in the nights.

It has been pointed out time and again that the leaders belonging to the Party in power prefer to visit the camps of Muslims affected in the riots and not the camps of Hindu victims of riots. Still nothing has been done to stop this practice of appeasement for sake of petty consideration of votes.

In Kashmir, many Hindu families had to flee their house and they are living in refugee camps in Delhi and Jammu. But the government has taken no steps to rehabilitate such people.

The slogan of 'Pakistan Jindabad' is heard in our country in many places number of times. We wonder if we were in India or Pakistan. But the government has done little to discourage or stop such unpatriotic acts.

Also the government has failed to take any action against those who have indulged in setting fire to our national flag or who have displayed black badges on the occasion of Republic Day Celebrations'.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Pradhan kindly conclude.

SHRI SATISH PRADHAN : There are many intellectuals in our country who are afraid to freely express their views on sensitive issues owing to lack of protection that could be provided to them by the government.

मौलाना अबेदुल्ला खान आजमी : सरकार को जरूर पनाह देनी चाहिए । बाल ठाकरे को इन्सानियत की कत्ल के लिए भारत सरकार को भारत रत्न देना चाहिए ।

श्री सतीश प्रधान : दे दो । जरूर दे दो ।

मौलाना अबेदुल्ला खान आजमी : इस तबाही के लिए बाल ठाकरे को इनाम देना चाहिए । बाल ठाकरे ने बम्बई जलायी है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Please conclude now.

SHRI SATISH PRADHAN : These Members have alleged many things in their speeches, which I want to answer.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : You conclude now.

SHRI SATISH PRADHAN : Maharashtra Government has come out with a white paper on recent state of riots in Bombay. In that report it is nowhere mentioned that Shiv Sena was responsible for these riots. But our hon'ble Home Minister Shri Shankarrao Chawan says Shiv Sena be banned. On what basis he is saying so? Arms and ammunition in large quantities specially those of foreign origin were recovered at many places in Bombay during these riots. It is necessary to find out from where and how such arms and ammunition came.

Our constitution is secular and I fully support this. Right to equality has been enshrined in our constitution. But what we see in practice is that one has to suffer the discriminations of various kinds on grounds of one's birth, caste and religion in our country. Even in our educational institutions we see the identities of Muslim, Hindu or Harijan institutions. We have not been able to adopt secularism in our practice in the country. We do use the word secular but we fail to practise it when it comes to the state of Kashmir. If the reason as to why the word 'Secular' is not used in case of Kashmir, is explained to a new member like me, I shall be immensely grateful to you, Vice Chairman, Sir

. Finally, I wish to express my thanks you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to express my views on the President's Address.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka) : Sir, I have to draw your attention to one thing. Unfortunately the Kannada language is discriminated against in this House. Several times we have requested that there should be a Kannada Interpreter. Sir, when you speak in Tamil, there is interpretation in Tamil; when somebody speaks in Marathi, there is interpretation in Marathi; when somebody speaks in Gujarati, there is interpretation, but there is no interpretation facility for Kannada speeches. In this connection, I would like to say one thing. All the Kannada MPs once gave a letter asking for interpretation in Kannada. But no Kannada Interpreter has been appointed. I request you to give a direction from the Chair to the Government to the effect that there should be no discrimination between languages and a Kannada Interpreter should be appointed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : I will convey your sentiments to the concerned authorities.

Further discussion on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address would continue next week.

Now, the House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. on Fridy, the 5th March, 1993.

The House then adjourned at eighteen minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 5th March, 1993.